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## The Negros to Serve Forever: The Evolution of Black's Life and Labor in Seventeenth-Century Virginia

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**"The Negroes to Serve Forever":  
The Evolution of Blacks' Life and Labor  
in Seventeenth-Century Virginia**

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**A Thesis**

**Presented to**

**The Faculty of the Department of History  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

**In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts**

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**by**

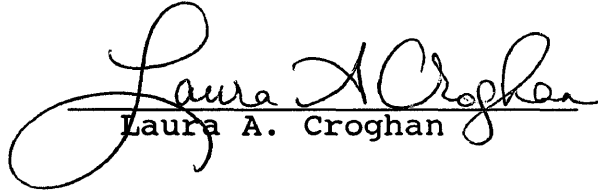
**Laura A. Croghan**

**1994**

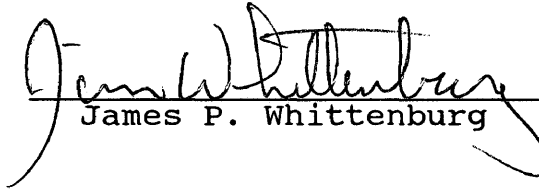
**APPROVAL SHEET**

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

  
Laura A. Croghan

Approved, November 1994

  
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This volume is dedicated to my mother, Ann Croghan, for all of her patient support of my seemingly endless years in school; and to my best friend, Brian Kamoie, for showing me all the joys of love and friendship.

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**"THE NEGROES TO SERVE FOREVER":  
THE EVOLUTION OF BLACKS' LIFE AND LABOR  
IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIRGINIA**

**--ABSTRACT--**

The seventeenth century in Virginia was an era of transition from a society with fluid and as yet undefined social and racial relations to one based on black slave labor and notions of white superiority. Exactly when and why this transition took place is one of the major questions which this thesis addresses. A close analysis of the evidence from York County, Virginia, demonstrates that the shift from indentured servitude to racial slavery began during the 1650s and 1660s, a full generation earlier than in every other Virginia county for which there are sufficient records. By these decades, African slave labor in York began to predominate and the plantation system that was characteristic of the eighteenth century began to develop. While York's development may not necessarily have been representative, it was at least indicative of the greater evolutionary changes taking place in Virginia's colonial society during the seventeenth century.

Another major question that this thesis addresses moves beyond white attitudes towards blacks to a discussion of what black life was like on a daily basis and how blacks' experiences changed over time. Blacks' place in the social order had not always been so rigidly defined as it was during the eighteenth century, and the second half of the seventeenth century was therefore characterized by active attempts on the part of blacks to define their own status by owning land, establishing families, and petitioning repeatedly for their freedom or for the treatment accorded English bondsmen. They were neither passive recipients of an inferior position nor victims of circumstance. Black Virginians recognized the changes taking place around them and participated in the dialogue which was defining social and racial relations during the mid- to late-seventeenth century. It was during these attempts to carve a out a place for themselves in the ever-narrowing world of seventeenth-century plantations that the real birth of African-American culture took place.



**"The Negroes to Serve Forever":  
The Evolution of Blacks' Life and Labor  
in Seventeenth-Century Virginia**

## INTRODUCTION: THE ANOMALY OF YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA

The history of Africans and African Americans in seventeenth-century Virginia has been well debated and seemingly exhaustively researched. Historians have asked whether slavery or racism came first, when and why the shift from white indentured servants to black slaves took place, and when, why, and even if Africans received differential treatment once in the colony.<sup>1</sup> For all the literature that has appeared on these questions, however, little consensus exists as to their answers. The thesis proposed by Oscar and Mary Handlin in the 1950s, which gave impetus to the above lines of inquiry, argued that black slavery came before racism and did not really take root before the legislation of the 1670s. The Handlins' interpretation is still being heatedly debated today.<sup>2</sup> It is time, however, to move beyond white attitudes toward blacks to discussions of what black life was

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<sup>1</sup>For detailed historiographical discussions of the "origins debate" and related questions see, Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 97 (1989): 311-354, hereafter VMHB; and Laura A. Croghan, "The Transformation of Virginia Labor: The Origins of Slavery and Racism in the Seventeenth Century," unpublished essay, The College of William and Mary, 1993.

<sup>2</sup>Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d. ser., 7(2) (April 1950): 199-222, hereafter WMQ; see also, Ibid.

like on a daily basis and how blacks' experiences changed over time. This essay will attempt to get at these experience-oriented questions by looking at issues such as sex ratios, family development, black autonomy, and social relations.<sup>3</sup>

York County, Virginia, is a particularly good locality in which to view these trends. As Virginia's major port during the seventeenth century, Yorktown and the York County plantations served as the center of the Chesapeake's slave trade. The combination of fertile lands and connections with English merchants contributed to York planters' prosperity and economic growth. These characteristics made landowners in York County more willing and more able to experiment with other types of labor, particularly African labor. By mid-century, Africans made up nearly 15% of York's overall population, while in Virginia as a whole Africans made up only 3% of the total population. While York County can be characterized as a dramatic case, glimmerings of the same pattern were evident in other Tidewater counties as well, such as Lancaster, Northumberland, Elizabeth City, Surry, Middlesex, Gloucester, Rappahannock, Northampton, Accomack, and Henrico. The number of York's documents which have survived the last three hundred years is impressive, and far

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<sup>3</sup>Unfortunately, the types of sources historians use to investigate such personal and individual topics for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are even rarer for the seventeenth century. The result is that many of the present conclusions are necessarily based on quantitative evidence that admittedly may not be representative, see Table 1 below.

surpasses the preservation rate of other Tidewater counties. For this reason, firmer conclusions are possible about the experiences of York County residents than about the residents of other counties. While York's development may not necessarily have been representative, it was at least indicative of the larger evolutionary changes taking place in Virginia society during the seventeenth century.

Generally speaking, historians have correctly identified the last quarter of the seventeenth century as the transitional period for labor in the colony.<sup>4</sup> Wills, inventories, family papers, and colonial government documents all indicate that, for most of the Tidewater area, white servants were the most important source of labor until the 1670s and 1680s and Africans were only a tiny percentage of the population before that time. In York County, however, the pattern and timeline were significantly different. By the 1650s, a full generation earlier than in any other Virginia county, African slave labor began to predominate in York, and the plantation system that was characteristic of the eighteenth century began to develop. Population growth in the county in the 1650s led to increased opportunities for black

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<sup>4</sup>Richard Dunn, "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor," in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era (Baltimore, 1984), 160; Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," Southern Studies, XVI (Winter 1977), 362, 368; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York, 1984), 166.

family development during the 1660s, 1670s, and 1680s. Paradoxically, the increase in the number of blacks simultaneously resulted in the intensified repression of them by whites and in the slow but steady emergence of slavery as a formal institution.

These decades were a period of experimentation and of more fluid and tentative race relations. Nonetheless, the series of laws that singled out blacks for differential treatment beginning in the 1660s revealed that whites perceived black population growth as a threat to their hegemony. Every year between 1667 and 1672 the General Assembly enacted legislation which increasingly defined a Virginian's status by skin color skin. Similar laws followed in 1680, 1682, and 1686.<sup>5</sup> By the final decade of the seventeenth century, those characteristics most associated with the plantation society of the eighteenth century were already evident. Social relations between blacks and whites in these final years were well-defined and enforced. As historical archaeologist James Deetz described it, "the history of seventeenth-century Virginia is enclosed in a kind of parentheses, with the tobacco boom on one side and wholesale, fully institutionalized slavery on the other."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>See William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619 (Charlottesville, 1969), 2: 170, 267, 270, 280-281, 283, 481, 490-491.

<sup>6</sup>James Deetz, Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864 (Charlottesville, 1993), 9.

York County's labor situation was anomalous in several ways. Inventory evidence in York suggests that planters there turned to the use of African labor earlier and more completely than planters elsewhere. References to "Negroes" in York County documents indicate that in the 1640s the African population increased greatly relative to the 1620s and 1630s (see Table 1). References to Africans decrease in the 1650s, perhaps indicating emigration from the county, and then greatly increase in the 1660s. In the 1670s, references again decrease and then rise somewhat for the 1680s and skyrocket for the 1690s. The references to Africans in wills and inventories from the 1660s, which would have included slaves born or brought to the colony in earlier decades, are even more numerous than references in the 1680s documents. The 1690s jump can be partially explained by the founding of the Royal African Company and the resultant institutionalization of direct importation of Africans to Virginia. In other Virginia counties, far fewer Africans appear in inventories and wills at any time, especially during the early decades when they start to become numerous in York. Part of the reason for York's divergence is that Yorktown, Virginia, served as the major slave port throughout the century.

York's population growth followed a different pattern generally. In 1663, blacks were 14% of York's total population when three years before the black population had been only 3.5% of Virginia's total. Similarly, in 1680 when

**TABLE 1:**

**# Dated References to "Negroes" in Virginia<sup>7</sup>**

Decade	All VA Sources:	York Co. Sources:	# Negroes in VA Sources:	# Negroes in York Sources:
1620s	6	0	24	0
1630s	1	0	0	0
1640s	21	12	36	23
1650s	19	5	60	5
1660s	33	21	101	68
1670s	35	20	61	46
1680s	28	18	91	65
1690s	59	33	238	176

blacks were 6.8% of the colony's population, they were 16.9% of York's (see Table 2).<sup>8</sup> References to "Negroes" in Virginia as a whole follow a similar but more dramatic pattern--the increase in references in the 1640s continues unabatedly until the decline of the 1670s. As in York, references in the 1680s increase, but not to 1660s levels, and then skyrocket in the 1690s. The turn to African labor corresponds generally to a leveling off of white immigration. Before 1660, there were 4

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<sup>7</sup>See Appendix 5 for detailed descriptions of sources used. The first two columns of this table refer to the number of sources containing references to "negroes" in Virginia. The second two columns refer to the number of "negroes" these documents include.

<sup>8</sup>Kevin Kelly, "A Demographic Description of Seventeenth-Century York County, Virginia," (Paper presented at the Institute for Early American History and Culture Colloquium, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1983), 5-8.

blacks for every 10 white indentured servants among York's inventoried labor force. During the 1660s this ratio shifted to 5:10, and by the 1670s, 8:10. By the 1690s, the transformation of York's labor force was dramatic: 22 black slaves were inventoried for every white servant.<sup>9</sup>

Two prominent Chesapeake historians, Russell Menard and Kevin Kelly, have recognized York's divergence and offered explanations. Menard argued that the "geography of tobacco cultivation" was responsible for the differences in slave distribution in Virginia. "Those counties most successful in the tobacco industry--which produced the best grades of sweetscented for the English market, whose economies show the least evidence of diversification and the most devotion to the staple, and whose commerce was dominated by London merchants--had the highest concentration of slaves."<sup>10</sup> All of these characteristics applied to York County throughout the seventeenth century. Kelly added demographics to the explanation. The decline in the number of available white laborers "apparently accelerated the county's shift to slave labor."<sup>11</sup> Availability was affected by slackening immigration of white servants into the colony<sup>12</sup> and by the departure of

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<sup>9</sup>Kelly, "A Demographic Description," 8.

<sup>10</sup>Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 383.

<sup>11</sup>Kelly, "A Demographic Description," 35.

<sup>12</sup>Richard Dunn argued that the flow of English servants into America peaked by the 1650s and early 1660s and then declined. His explanation for this is that the supply pattern



**TABLE 2:**  
**Population of York County in the Seventeenth Century<sup>13</sup>**

<u>YEAR:</u>	<u>TOTAL POP:</u>	<u>% BLACK:</u>	<u># WHITES:</u>	<u># BLACKS:</u>
1662	2326	-----	-----	-----
1663	2257	14	1941	316
1664	-----	14.1	-----	-----
1665	2140	14.2	1838	304
1666	1935	14.2	1660	275
1667	1998	14.3	1714	286
1668	1905	14.4	1631	274
1669	-----	14.6	-----	-----
1670	2037	14.8	1736	301
1671	2102	15	1787	315
1672	2105	15.2	1785	320
1673	2153	15.4	1821	332
1674	2153	15.9	1811	342
1675	2174	16.4	1817	357
1676	-----	16.9	-----	-----
1677	2139	17.4	1767	372
1678	2167	17.9	1779	389
1679	2053	17.4	1696	375
1680	2427	16.9	2017	410
1681	2563	16.4	2130	420
1682	2488	15.9	2092	396
1683	2481	15.4	2099	382
1684	2417	16.9	2009	408
1685	2405	18.5	1960	445
1686	2428	20	1942	486
1687	2274	21.6	1783	491
1688	2458	23.1	1890	568
1689	-----	24.7	-----	-----
1690	2497	26.4	1838	659
1691	2550	28	1836	714
1692	2618	29.6	1843	775
1693	2631	31.3	1807	819
1694	2634	31.2	1812	822
1695	2575	31.2	1772	803
1696	2540	31.1	1750	790
1697	2493	31.1	1718	775
1698	2820	31	1949	858
1699	2883	-----	-----	-----
1700	-----	-----	-----	-----
1701	3008	31	2075	932

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shifted to Irish and German sources. While this may be the case, Dunn virtually neglected slave labor in his essay and therefore failed to question whether the supply pattern shifted to African sources as well. The decline that he saw coincides temporally with the increase in African slave labor beginning throughout Virginia, and especially in York County. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves," 160.

<sup>13</sup>From Kelly, "A Demographic Description," Table 5.

second and third planter sons to areas inland. In 1654, New Kent and Gloucester counties were carved out of the western expanses of York County, formally opening up western lands to tobacco cultivation. Kelly's characterization of York planters is that they were both "willing and, more importantly, able to invest heavily in slaves well before 1700."<sup>14</sup>

Other sources also support an earlier shift to African slavery both in York and Virginia generally. The first pertains to convicts and orphans sent to Virginia. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Privy Council recorded the names of 124 convicts and orphans sent to Virginia as servants. There are also several references to unspecified numbers of "diverse Children from their Parents, Servants from their Masters, [who were] daylie inticed away, taken upp, and kept . . . against their Wills" and bound for Virginia.<sup>15</sup> Nine of the eleven specific references occur before 1630, before the final pattern of who was going to do the manual labor and toil in the fields was worked out. Thus, this source of labor dried up well before the 1660s.

Virginia Company records indicate a similar immigration pattern. During the 1620s, there are ten references to groups

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<sup>14</sup>Kelly, "A Demographic Description," 4, 35.

<sup>15</sup>W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., Acts of the Privy Council of England: Colonial Series (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1966), documents 12-13, 22, 25, 42, 82, 88, 91, 217, 367, 486 (quote), 661.

of laborers entering the colony. Together, these references speak for the migration of at least 1,491 people sent to Virginia at the request of Virginians. For example, in July 1620, Company officials advised "that this yeare be sent . . . 100 servants to be disp[er]sed amongst the Old Planters wch they exceedingly desire and will pay the Company their charge wth verie greate thanks."<sup>16</sup>

By the 1660s, however, some types of persons who came earlier were no longer "exceedinglie desire[d]" by Virginia planters. Instead, in 1670 the General Court at James City, after years of discussion on the matter, emphatically prohibited the landing of any "jail birds . . . upon pain of being forced to carry them to some other country."<sup>17</sup> The Privy Council was informed later that year of the Court's complaint that "the great danger and disrepute brought upon . . . [Virginia] by the frequent sending thither of fellons and other Condemned Persons."<sup>18</sup> The change of heart coincides with the colony-wide turn to African labor, and the timing, which is ten to twenty years earlier than most historians suggest, is arguably more than coincidence. Not only did colonists no longer want such laborers in the 1660s,

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<sup>16</sup>Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London (Washington, 1906), 1: 287, 293, 351-352, 391 (quote), 479, 626; 2: 136, 368.

<sup>17</sup>Grant and Munro, Privy Council, 903.

<sup>18</sup>W. Noel Sainsburg, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies (Vaduz, 1964), 175, hereafter CSP.

they were beginning not to need them.

A second source also indicates an earlier-than-accepted shift to African slavery took place in the Chesapeake: references to Indian slavery in Virginia. The 1640s is the decade with the largest number of references to Indian slavery both in York County and in Virginia as a whole, perhaps as a result of the 1644 Indian uprising (see Appendix 3).<sup>19</sup> Of those whose age and sex are indicated, the vast majority of Indian slaves were women and children. After the 1640s, references to Indian slaves decline, even though Governor Berkeley sanctioned Indian slavery in 1666 as did Bacon's Laws in 1676. This phenomenon again coincides temporally with the mid-century increase in African slavery in York. An organized Indian slave trade never materialized in Virginia to the extent that it later did in South Carolina, either because planters did not want to make the effort to find Indians to enslave or there were no longer as many local Indians available to enslave.

Planters may also have recognized that whereas Indians had an established place to run to, Africans did not, making Africans a more secure investment. As Jack Forbes and J. Leitch Wright have pointed out, the decline in the number of slaves listed specifically as "Indian" may also be a result of the intermixture of Africans and Indians and a connection in

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<sup>19</sup>York County, Deeds, Orders, Wills, Nos. 1-12, 1637-1706, transcribed at Colonial Williamsburg, hereafter York DOW.

white minds between the terms "slaves" and "Negro"--the interchangeability masking the fact that Indians continued to serve as slaves even after African labor became prominent.<sup>20</sup> Whatever the case, it is plausible that the decline in references to Indians is related to the increase in African slavery.

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<sup>20</sup>Jack D. Forbes, Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples (Oxford, 1988), 60-64, 73, 79, 84, 86, 191; J. Leitch Wright, The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South (New York, 1981), 148-149, 249, 253, 257-258.

## CHAPTER 1

### SLAVE ARRIVALS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIRGINIA: ORIGINS AND NUMBERS

It is necessary to determine when, how, and how many Africans came to the colony before trying to determine what their lives were like once they arrived. The Africans who were brought to Virginia during the seventeenth century were originally from Angola, Benin, Calabar, and the Gold Coast.<sup>1</sup> Most of the slaves who reached Virginia in the seventeenth century were reexported from Barbados or other English holdings in the Caribbean. Since the Dutch held a virtual monopoly over the trade to Barbados, especially before 1663, many slaves also reached Virginia via Dutch slave traders.<sup>2</sup> The "20 and odd Negroes" brought to Virginia in August 1619 arrived on a Dutch man-of-war commanded by a Dutchman named Captain Jope and piloted "for the West Indies" by a Mr. Marmaduke.<sup>3</sup> Contraband trading between the English and Spanish in the Caribbean meant that many slaves came from Spanish islands as well. Philip Alexander Bruce in his early twentieth-century study of seventeenth-century Virginia noted

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<sup>1</sup>Philip Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (Madison, 1969), 124.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 55, 67.

<sup>3</sup>Kingsburg, Virginia Company, 3: 243.

African names that were of Spanish origin, including Mingo, Domingo, Pedro, Sancho, Lopez, Francisco, Magdalena, Andrea, Maria, Antonio, and Carlos.<sup>4</sup> These occur repeatedly in Virginia documents, especially during the first half of the century.

In the musters ordered after the uprising of 1622, Africans with Spanish names included "John Pedro a Neger aged 30 [who came] in the Swan in 1623" and Antonio and Isabella who lived in Elizabeth City and were probably from the original 22 in 1619.<sup>5</sup> In 1625, privateers took "a negro and a frenchman who came away willingly" out of the West Indies as well as "a Portugall to be their Pilott." After experiencing leakage problems with their ship, they set course for Virginia and arrived in the colony at mid-summer. The captains of the vessel were ordered to pay the "Portugall" for his services "wch [was] to be satisfied out of ye negros labour." This "negro" was not a slave however. Even though he was ordered to work for Lady Yeardley, she was to pay him forty pounds of good tobacco monthly for his labor.<sup>6</sup> Three years later, the captain of the ship Fortune captured a Spanish ship with "many

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<sup>4</sup>Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: An Inquiry into the Material Conditions of the People, Based Upon Original and Contemporaneous Records (New York, 1907), 86.

<sup>5</sup>Blanche Adams Chapman, ed., Wills and Administrations of Elizabeth City County, 1610-1800 (1941), np; Sainsburg, CSP, 3:57.

<sup>6</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, (Richmond, 1979), 67, 68, 71-73.

Negroes" whom he traded to Virginia planters for tobacco.<sup>7</sup> Wesley Frank Craven makes a valid point that these instances may seem isolated, but for another quarter century the English were active in the West Indies as privateers and likely continually smuggled blacks into the colony.<sup>8</sup> This assumption is substantiated by the fact that England had similar difficulties with smuggling in the West Indian colonies as well. The Royal African Company found that between 1679 and 1682, 29% of all English ships landing slaves in the islands were interlopers.<sup>9</sup> Virginia surely shared this experience.

Further evidence that Craven's hypothesis is probable comes from the several reprimands Virginia received from the mother country for breaking English trading rules. In 1633, English authorities received information that Virginians were engaging "in the Trade used by Strangers, of verie late tyme in that Country."<sup>10</sup> Along with the Fortune case, this reference was possibly to a controversial court case surrounding one "Mr. Ewen" who had paid the captain of the Straker to carry Africans to his plantation in Virginia in

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<sup>7</sup>Sainsburg, CSP, 9: 146; Virginia Colonial Records Project, SR 5861, Reel 224, hereafter VCRP; "Virginia in 1628," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 7(3) (January 1900), 258-268, hereafter VMHB.

<sup>8</sup>Wesley Frank Craven, White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth Century Virginian (Charlottesville, 1971), 80.

<sup>9</sup>Curtin, Atlantic Slave Trade, 54.

<sup>10</sup>Grant and Munro, Privy Council, 1: 321.



late 1628.<sup>11</sup> In 1634, the Privy Council scolded Virginia:

[We] expressly require you to take Bonde of all his Majesties Subiectes there that they shall lande their goodes here in Englande and not elsewhere; forasmuch as wee have bene informed that our directions in that behalfe have not been put in due execution, but that some strangers have lately traded there, and some English ships laden with tobacco, gone directly for Hollande, and there solde the same.<sup>12</sup>

The Virginians probably did not cease and desist, as twenty-five years later relations with the Dutch were such that Virginia offered them a "most-favored-nation" status, proclaiming that,

The Dutch and all strangers of what Christian nation soever in amity with the people of England shall have free liberty to trade with us, for all allowable commodities . . . If the said Dutch or other forreigners shall import any negro slaves, they the said Dutch or others shall, for the tobacco really produced by the sale of the said negro, pay only the impost of 2 shillings per, the like being paid by our owne nation.<sup>13</sup>

In view of this sales pitch to the Dutch, it is reasonable to conclude that the trade described had occurred all along.

The headright system was another way of bringing blacks into the colony. Colonists who paid the passage of others to Virginia were entitled to 50 acres of land for each "head." Craven has estimated that between 1635 and 1699, 82,000 headrights were granted, the vast majority between 1650 and 1675. Of the total, 4,000 headrights were for blacks (see

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<sup>11</sup>VCRP, SR 3810 and 5861.

<sup>12</sup>Grant and Munro, Privy Council, 1: 334.

<sup>13</sup>Hening, Statutes, 1: 540.

Table 3). George Menefie, merchant, planter, and member of the Governor's Council obtained the first large grant of headrights for Africans in 1638, when he received a patent for 3,000 acres including 60 headrights. Twenty-three of those he described as for "the Negroes I brought out of England with me." A year later, he secured another patent for 3,000 acres and headrights for another 15 Negroes.<sup>14</sup> According to Craven, the numbers of headrights for blacks shot up after 1649. Between 1635 and 1648, 149 headrights for blacks were granted. During the 1650s, 366 headrights were given for blacks, more than doubling the earlier period's immigration.<sup>15</sup> This upturn fits temporally with an earlier increase in the use of black labor in Virginia. The rise in numbers continued throughout the rest of the century.

Edmund Scarborough's daughters on Virginia's Eastern Shore brought blacks to the colony during the first period of increased migration. In 1656, they received a patent with 70 headrights, including 41 blacks.<sup>16</sup> Richard Lee received the next large headright for blacks. In 1660, he obtained a patent for 4,000 acres including headrights for 80 Negroes.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Nell Marion Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800 (Charlottesville, 1934) 1: 118-120; Craven, White, Red, and Black, 90.

<sup>15</sup>Craven, White, Red, and Black, 85-86.

<sup>16</sup>Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1: 328.

<sup>17</sup>Ludwell Lee Montague, "Richard Lee, the Emigrant, 1613(?) - 1664," VMHB, 62 (1954), 39.

**TABLE 3:**  
**# Headrights Awarded for Blacks Imported into Virginia<sup>18</sup>**

1635-26	1652-53	1668-18	1684-54
1636-10	1653-32	1669-30	1685-1
1637-29	1654-31	1670-33	1686-7
1638-59	1655-4	1671-51	1687-95
1639-16	1656-68	1672-51	1688-73
1640-1	1657-31	1673-57	1689-65
1641-7	1658-36	1674-104	1690-182
1642-23	1659-16	1675-33	1691-234
1643-10	1660-2	1676-28	1692-44
1644-0	1661-69	1677-2	1693-142
1645-4	1662-53	1678-42	1694-202
1646-0	1663-79	1679-20	1695-305
1647-7	1664-77	1680-37	1696-258
1648-2	1665-144	1681-23	1697-201
1649-51	1666-110	1682-172	1698-246
1650-11	1667-27	1683-79	1699-33
1651-35			

Apparently the ship and the Africans involved were lost at sea, but clearly by *mid-century*, Virginia planters were already turning towards Africa as a major source of labor.

Even though there was some contemporary opinion that "as for the Negroes they remain in particular mens hands,"<sup>19</sup> large grants of headrights for Africans were not confined to well-established, wealthy planters. Smaller planters received headrights for Africans throughout the 1660s and 1670s as well. In the early 1660s, Lancaster County planters Richard Parrett, Gray Skipwith, Anthony Ellyott, Abraham Weeks, Lt. Col. Robert Smyth, William Leech, Thomas Willys, Edward Dale, Robert Kempe, Joseph Smith, Nicholas Cox, Henry Nichols, Henry

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<sup>18</sup>From Craven, White, Red, and Black, 85-86.

<sup>19</sup>Farrar Family Papers, 1647, document #1121, on microfilm at the Jamestown Foundation.

Ward, Robert Griggs, and Joseph Hastewood brought African slaves to Virginia. Together, they imported 54 "Negroes" within 4 years.<sup>20</sup> Since every planter listed imported English men and women as well, the blacks obviously lived and worked among numerous white indentured servants, assuming that each planter kept all the laborers he brought. Interestingly, only one headright listed the names of blacks, whereas every headright listed the first and last names of English servants.<sup>21</sup> Either these blacks were obtained from slave traders who did not worry about the names of their "cargoes," or the planters themselves did not care to list them, implying that as early as the beginning of the 1660s these blacks were intended as slaves. Indifference to Africans' names is one of many illustrations that different attitudes consciously or unconsciously existed among whites towards white and black labor in the seventeenth century.

Other planters were obtaining their black servants from merchants or by trading directly with Africa. In 1661, Nicholas Ware of Rappahannock County gave bond to James Vassall, a merchant in Barbados, for "4 good Negroes."<sup>22</sup> That same year, the orders to Mr. Thomas Outlaw of London, master

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<sup>20</sup>Lindsay O. Duvall, ed., Lancaster County, 1657-1680: Virginia Colonial Abstracts (Richmond, 1953), 12-20, 23, 27.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Elizabeth Donnan, ed., Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to North America (New York, 1969), 4: 6.

of the Blessing, who was bound for "Ginny," read:

If you can get Twentie Tunne of Olevants Teeth or upwards then to Returne to England . . . But if you cannot procure so many Teeth, then to get as many as you can Reserving as much of your Cargo, as will procure 100 and 50 Negroes at least, andnot exceed 200 and 20, which you are to transportto Maryland and Virginia.<sup>23</sup>

In January 1662/3, Francis Lord Willoughby was informed by the Company of Royal Adventurers that they would keep a "competent and constant supply of Negro-servants for [the planters'] own use." The Company planned "by God's permission [to] furnish the said Plantations with at least 3000 Negroes . . . within eight days dispatch," and although there is no evidence that a trade of this magnitude took place, the letter again indicates that planters and English officials were turning to Africa as the next best source of labor for the colonies.<sup>24</sup>

During the last quarter of the century, the Royal African Company took over the responsibility of delivering African slaves to the colonies. Between 1673 and 1678, the Company imported well over 1,300 Africans in the Swallow, Prosperous,

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<sup>23</sup>Donnan, Documents, 4: 51.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 1: 156; In 1671, Governor Berkeley reported that there were 2,000 Negroes then in the colony, though there had not been above two or three ships with Negroes in seven years, (Hening, Statutes, 2: 511-517). Seven years before 1671 would be 1664, so it is possible that the ships Berkeley described were a part of this plan. Even more significant, considering that the total black population in 1648 was 300, some heavy importation had to have been taking place between then and 1664 to account for the population growth of 1,700 that Berkeley's statement indicates (Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, eds., American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York, 1932), 136.

Merchants Delight, and Recovery.<sup>25</sup> However, the Company was not alone in importing slaves by any means. In the fall of 1678, the Virginia Council complained that more Africans were being brought than ought to have been "under contract." During 1678 and 1679, six ships landed in Virginia carrying over 1,000 "of the Choicest and best Negroes," some from Barbados.<sup>26</sup> Virginia obviously was sharing Barbados' experience with interlopers! In 1680, acting governor of Virginia Edmund Jennings reported to the Board of Trade that "what negroes were brought to Virginia were imported generally from Barbados for it was very rare to have a Negro ship come to this Country directly from Africa."<sup>27</sup> This pattern continued throughout the remainder of the century.

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<sup>25</sup>Sainsburg, CSP, 7: 1215; VCRP, Reel 92; McIlwaine, Minutes, 494.

<sup>26</sup>McIlwaine, Minutes, 519; Donnan, Documents, 4: 53-55, 250.

<sup>27</sup>Donnan, Documents, 4: 89.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**SKETCHES OF AFRICAN AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN LIFE**  
**IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIRGINIA**

Life for Africans and African Americans changed over the course of the seventeenth century, as Virginia shifted from a fairly fluid society with undefined and still flexible race relations, to a highly structured and stratified society based on perceived black inferiority and slave labor. The turning point was around 1660, although there were definitely examples of hardening color lines before that date and fluidity afterwards. Before the turning point, black-white interaction outside of work was fairly common but often punished, and black families and kin networks were unstable at best, and to be realistic, nearly nonexistent. The average number of slaves owned by planters was between 2 and 4, although groups as large as 50 were not unheard of (see Appendices 4 and 5). The sex ratio was male dominated. Race relations were fairly fluid, although there is evidence that foreshadows the system that became prevalent later in the century.

During the 1660s, 1670s, and 1680s, several of these characteristics changed significantly. Black-white social interaction outside of work was no longer tolerated. Black family and kin relations became more stable, and inheritance patterns demonstrate that masters began to respect black

family ties on a limited basis. The sex ratio became more balanced, the average number of slaves owned by planters grew to 5, and a free black population slowly began to grow. It was during this period that the plantation system that is generally identified with the eighteenth century tentatively took root. During the 1690s and first decade of the eighteenth century, sex ratios remained relatively balanced but were still dominated by males, and the average number of slaves owned by slaveholders' climbed to 8. Familiar forms of slave resistance began to appear more frequently in the records, and the settlement patterns and landscapes associated with eighteenth-century slavery and plantations, such as separate slave quarters, became common. By the end of the seventeenth century, Virginia was changing from a society that used bound labor to a slave society based on black labor and perceived inferiority.

This periodization coincides generally with Alan Kulikoff's three stages of slave community development. The period most pertinent to the present study, between 1650 and 1690, saw the assimilation of blacks to white society and the growth of the number of blacks in the colony. Black population growth threatened white hegemony, and therefore this period also saw the beginnings of white repression. The second period, 1690 to 1740, was an era of heavy black immigration and small plantation size, and was characterized by conflict within slave communities as a result of the



infusion of non-assimilated Africans. The years from 1740 to 1790 marked the end of black immigration into Virginia, and therefore the stabilization of slave communities.<sup>1</sup>

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Before 1660, a number of situations outside of work found blacks and whites interacting, cooperating, and forming personal relationships. Intimate relationships were one type of connection that brought blacks (usually women) and whites (usually men) together. For example, in September 1630, Hugh Davis was ordered punished "before an assembly of Negroes and others . . . [for] lying with a negro."<sup>2</sup> In October 1640, Robert Sweet was ordered to do penance "for getting a negroe woman with child." The pregnant woman's punishment was to be "whipt."<sup>3</sup> It was not unknown, however, for white women and black men to form intimate relationships. In August 1661, Rebekah Noble was accused of "keeping company" with one of Colonel Mathew's negro men and of planning to marry a negro man belonging to Colonel Read.<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly, more interracial relationships than these existed and not everyone involved in such a relationship was hauled before the general court for

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<sup>1</sup>Alan Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700-1790," WMQ, 3d. ser., 35 (1978), 229.

<sup>2</sup>Hening, Statutes, 1: 146.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1: 552; McIlwaine, Minutes, 477.

<sup>4</sup>York County Inventories (3)108, transcribed at Colonial Williamsburg.

punishment. The prevalence of such relationships is shown by the General Assembly's 1662 ruling that if "any christian shall committ Fornication with a negro man or woman, hee or shee soe offending shall pay double the Fines imposed by the former act." Historian Warren Billings has argued that this act was created in response to "some doubts [which] have arisen whether children got by any Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or free."<sup>5</sup> By the 1660s, Virginia lawmakers sought to determine mulattoes' status, give slavery a clearer meaning in Virginia law, and to keep the races separate.<sup>6</sup>

Relationships of convenience were common as well. For example, in 1640, three men attempted to run away together to Maryland--a "Scot," a "Dutchman," and a "negro" named John Punch. In this case the punishment was differentiated by race. The two white absconders were ordered to serve one extra year to their master and three for the colony, indeed a heavy punishment. "But the third being a negro named John Punch shall serve his said master . . . for the time of his natural life." No white servant ever received so severe a sentence.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Hening, Statutes, 2: 170.

<sup>6</sup>Warren M. Billings, "The Case of Fernando and Elizabeth Key; A Note on the Status of Black in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," WMQ, 3d. ser., 30 (1973), 472-473.

<sup>7</sup>"Decisions of the General Court," VMHB 5 (1898), 236-237; Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (New York, 1968), 75.

Indeed, rights, responsibilities, and attitudes were slowly beginning to be defined along racial lines before the laws of the 1660s. Wills and inventories from the 1620s differentiated categorically between white servants and "Negroes," implying that the two groups of laborers were already distinct and racially defined. The 1624/25 muster of the colony recorded the first and last names of the colony's white inhabitants. Yet none of the twenty-two blacks was given a surname and only a handful were listed with first names. The same is true of the 1629 muster.<sup>8</sup> This neglect was a common phenomenon throughout seventeenth-century York County records as well. In 1655 in the inventory of Argoll Yeardley, six Negroes worth £12,000 were listed under the category of "servants," and under the category of "Corne" were listed two white indentured servants.<sup>9</sup>

Increasing characterization of black labor as hereditary and perpetual also determined differentiation in treatment. In 1647, Captain John Chisman purchased a number of "negroes" from the estate of William Pryor "to have hold occupy posesse and injoy and everyone of the afforementioned Negroes

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<sup>8</sup>"The Virginia Census, 1624-1625," VMHB, 7(4) (April 1900), 364-366; Alden T. Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia; A Note on the First Decade," WMQ, ed ser., 29 (1972), 469-478.

<sup>9</sup>Nora Miller Turman and Mark C. Lewis, eds., "Inventory of the Estate of Argoll Yeardley of Northampton County, Virginia, in 1655," VMHB, 70 (1962), 410-419.

forever."<sup>10</sup> Rowland Burnham of Rappahannock bequeathed a number of black and white laborers in his will, "the English for the full terme of time they have to serve the negroes forever both to them and their heirs."<sup>11</sup> Francys Cole left several Negroes to his wife Alice, who were to be "assigned . . . forever." Likewise, the Negro woman whom Margaret Grymes gave to her grandson was to be "to him and his heirs forever."<sup>12</sup> Historian Alden Vaughan argues that even a cursory scan of the basic records "should disabuse anyone of the notions that blacks and whites were accorded similar nomenclature."<sup>13</sup>

Other white actions further demonstrated that the color line was being drawn. The General Assembly enacted several laws early in the century which set blacks apart from whites. In January 1640, the General Assembly proclaimed that "all persons except negroes [were] to be provided with arms and ammunition." In 1643, a law declared black women to be tithable as well as all men.<sup>14</sup> "The status of the Negro in the English colonies was worked out within a framework of

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<sup>10</sup>York DOW, (2) 256-257, 338.

<sup>11</sup>Will of Rowland Burnham, February 1655/56, Lancaster County Wills, Reel 1.

<sup>12</sup>Wills of Francys Cole, July 1658, and Margaret Grymes, February 1658/59, Lancaster County Wills, Reel 18.

<sup>13</sup>Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia," 469-478; Idem, "The Origins Debate," 325-326.

<sup>14</sup>Hening, Statutes, 1: 144, 226, 242, 292, 454.

discrimination . . . . [and] long before slavery or black labor became an important part of the Southern economy, a special and inferior status had been worked out for the Negroes who came to the English colonies."<sup>15</sup>

Yet other white actions demonstrate the fluidity that was still very much a part of the social system during the early decades of the century. Some blacks had a fair amount of autonomy and independence. In October 1645, a minister named George Hopkins gave a heifer "due" to one of Captain West's black servants, implying that Hopkins had contracted with the servant for some type of voluntary service.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the court seized tobacco from the estate of John Powell to pay the wages of a black woman also belonging to the estate.<sup>17</sup> These cases are comparable to the man privateers brought to the colony in 1625 who was ordered to work for Lady Yeardley, but was also to be paid "forty pound waight [sic] of good marchantable tobacco for his labor and service."<sup>18</sup>

Another example of black autonomy is the case of a "negro servant" named John Graweere whom his owner William Evans permitted to keep hogs and "make the best benefit of them" as long as he shared half the profit. Graweere had a child with

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<sup>15</sup>Carl Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 2(1) (October 1959), 52, 61.

<sup>16</sup>York County Inventories, (2) 85.

<sup>17</sup>York DOW, (2) 190, 196.

<sup>18</sup>McIlwaine, Minutes, 71-72.

a woman who belonged to another local planter and desired that the child should be Christian. To facilitate the religious instruction, he purchased the child's freedom with earnings from his own work.<sup>19</sup> Graweere's situation provides an intriguing look into an internal slave economy that undoubtedly became more widespread as the century progressed. Further, free time such as Graweere must have had has been associated by historians more with the tasking labor system generally associated with South Carolina than with the ganging system associated with the Chesapeake.<sup>20</sup> Here again, the fluid nature of labor and race relations during the seventeenth century is indicated.

There seemed to be some thought among blacks that Christianity would give them a chance at higher status. Africans who retained their native religion did not have the same grounds that Christianized Africans did to argue for a release from lifetime servitude. For example, in January 1655/56, mulatto Elizabeth Key brought a successful suit for her freedom. Her main argument was that she had been baptized, suggesting that religious belief was still a factor in one's status at this time.<sup>21</sup> In 1667, a slave named

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<sup>19</sup>McIlwaine, Minutes, 477.

<sup>20</sup>Philip D. Morgan, "Task and Gang Systems: The Organization of Labor on New World Plantation," in Stephen Innes, ed., Work and Labor in Early America (Chapel Hill, 1988), 212-213.

<sup>21</sup>McIlwaine, Minutes, 504; Billings, "Case of Fernando and Elizabeth Key," 468.

Fernando contended that he "was a Christian and had been several yeares in England" and therefore should serve no longer than an English bondsman. His efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. What is significant is that Fernando *believed* that his religion affected his status.<sup>22</sup> The fact that Key was successful while Fernando was not forcefully demonstrates the variability of blacks' status during this period. In 1667 the General Assembly addressed blacks' undefined status by passing a law which declared that baptism would no longer affect a person's condition of bondage or freedom.<sup>23</sup> This action reveals a hardening of feeling among whites, who felt that such opportunities for blacks left planters without any assurance that they could retain their slaves.

Further evidence for the existence of fluid social relations and black autonomy before 1660 is the fact that black landowners could acquire headrights for whites. In 1654 Richard Johnson, a negro carpenter, received 100 acres along Pungoteague River in Northampton County for headrights on two white men. Two years later, Benjamin Dale of Surry County received a patent for 300 acres for the transportation of six whites.<sup>24</sup>

The black population was relatively small during these

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<sup>22</sup>Billings, "The Case of Fernando and Elizabeth Key," 468, 470.

<sup>23</sup>Hening, Statutes, 2: 260.

<sup>24</sup>Bruce, Economic History, 126.

early years and therefore not as threatening as it would later become, which in part explains the relative flexibility of black-white relations. In 1648 the total population of the colony was approximately 15,000, of which only 300 (2%) were black (see Appendix 1). By 1663, however, in places such as York County, the total population was 2,257, of which 316 (14%) were black (see Table 2). When the "other" became more numerous, he also became more threatening. As Kulikoff notes, the timing of racial laws relates in part to the increasing growth of the black population.<sup>25</sup> The hardening of the color line more than coincidentally occurred during the decades when Africans were becoming more visible in Virginia's population.

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The years between 1660 and 1689 follow a different pattern from the one established during the early years of the century. Black-white interaction outside of work became increasingly limited, the one exception being their joint participation in Bacon's Rebellion.<sup>26</sup> On farms and plantations, however, blacks and whites surely associated with one another. Edmund Morgan argues that "black men and whites serving the same master worked, ate and slept together, and

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<sup>25</sup>Kulikoff, "Origins," 230.

<sup>26</sup>For a discussion of "cooperation" in Bacon's Rebellion, see T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676 (New York, 1980).



together shared in escapades, escapes and punishments."<sup>27</sup> Demographic evidence points to the same conclusion. While the majority of planters who had their estates inventoried or left wills during these decades owned only black servants, 46% still used a mixed work force of blacks and whites (see Appendix 2). On half of these plantations, blacks were equal to or more numerous than white workers. The documents categorically differentiate between "English servants" and "Negroes," implying that their legal and social status and possibly their work on the plantation was not the same.

African and African-American families during this period were relatively more stable and more likely to survive than earlier in the century.<sup>28</sup> During this thirty-year period, planters owned an average of 5 black servants. The range was quite varied, with some planters owning only 1 black worker and others owning as many as 24 (see Appendix 2). Higher

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<sup>27</sup>Edmund Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1975), 155; see also, Kulikoff, "Origins," 230.

<sup>28</sup>Kulikoff argued that settled black communities did not develop until the 1740s, because the male-dominated sex ratio made it difficult for Africans to establish families before the mid-eighteenth century. While this characterization is largely correct, the present study demonstrates that sex ratios from mostly York County documents were more balanced than Kulikoff allowed. Kulikoff also does not consider that Indian women possibly alleviated some of the pressure of the unbalanced sex ratios, since he figured his demographics from slave cargo ratios of 2 African men for every woman. This essay argues that black families were the foundation of black communities, and individuals had a greater chance during the later-seventeenth century to find mates and establish families than before. See Kulikoff, "Origins," 231, 240, 245.

numbers of Africans on the plantations obviously made it easier for individuals to find mates. Increased stability of family life was in part also because of a more even sex ratio than earlier. Wills and inventories from York, Elizabeth City, Isle of Wight, Surry, Lancaster, Middlesex, Northumberland, Rappahannock, and Henrico counties from this period indicate that black women were slightly more numerous than black men, with a female to male ratio of 1.45: 1.13. This deviation from the standard of male-dominated sex ratios may be a result of a number of factors.<sup>29</sup>

The significant issue is that Negro families had a somewhat better chance of forming and of being respected by planters during the third quarter of the century. Blacks were often inventoried in a way that indicated their marital status. For example, in 1660, Thomas Ludlowe owned a number of "Negroes" including "William Iles an Anntient man Seasoned and Besse a Negro woman his wife." In 1671, Richard Stock owned Peter Negro, Mary Negro, and 2 children.<sup>30</sup> William Ball

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<sup>29</sup>The most likely explanation for this anomaly is that, because of the potentially random nature of document preservation, these wills and inventories are not representative. The other possible explanation is that Indian slaves were included in the category of "Negroes" in these documents. Forbes and Wright, as discussed above, both argue convincingly that because of the lack of African women during the seventeenth century, African men and Indian women who were enslaved coupled. The connection between type of labor and the term "Negro" in the Anglo-American mind masked the actual ethnic identity of the servants, skewing the sex ratio between black men and women.

<sup>30</sup>York County Inventories, (3) 82-83, (4) 370.

kept his black servants' families together in 1680 when he bequeathed to his son William "2 Negroes called Pam and Kate his wife" and to his son Joseph "Negro Tony and Dinah his wife."<sup>31</sup> Similarly, Elizabeth Read in 1685 bequeathed "Peter and Brigitt his wife," "1 Negro man Will and Janie his wife," "1 Negro man Jeffry with Nimino his wife and her child," and "Negro woman Pegg with her child a mulatto girl named Dina."<sup>32</sup> Rowland Jones owned Peter and Pegg, Nim and Dinah, Sam and Joane, as well as a number of children.<sup>33</sup>

Deco and Philis, who belonged to Doodis Minor in Middlesex County, had a very stable family life. Between 1673 and 1682, while living in the same place and with the same owner they had five children, Mary, Nann, James, and twins Betty and Pallas, all registered in the Christ Church Registry.<sup>34</sup> The opportunity for African-American children to know *both* of their parents did exist. Thomas Mack was born to Richard and Tugg during the summer of 1663. Sampson and Kate became the proud parents of Frank in April 1668. Toney was born in April 1672 to Toney and Sarah, and Hannah was born to William and Kate later that same year. All of these couples

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<sup>31</sup>Will of William Ball of Lancaster, October 1680, in the Thom Family Papers, VHS.

<sup>32</sup>York DOW, (7) 257, 259.

<sup>33</sup>York County Inventories, (8) 362-363, 495-496.

<sup>34</sup>Parish Register of Christ Church, Middlesex County, Virginia, from 1653-1812 (Richmond, 1897), 11.

belonged to Richard Perrott.<sup>35</sup> In August 1683, Thomas Clinker and Ginney Bess, a free black, had their son Thomas Clinker baptized. Thomas and Elizabeth Phillips, who belonged to Captain Creek, followed suit with their children Phillip and Jane.<sup>36</sup>

Not every master bequeathed his servants so as to preserve family ties. Many masters separated children from their parents. One such case was in 1666 when William Calvert of New Poquoson bequeathed to his son two Negro children called Cadde and Moll and one Indian boy called Ben. In 1668, William Barbar of Hampton Parish gave to his granddaughter Elizabeth Baskervyle one Negro boy.<sup>37</sup> Mary Ludlowe kept some family members together and split others apart. In 1669 she bequeathed to her son a Negro named Ralph and his mother Jugg as well as Melatto Moll. To one daughter she gave Manne and to another Bessie, both daughters of Old Lawrence.<sup>38</sup> Years after her husband died, Mary Barbar gave her daughter Mary Baskervyle a woman named Blacke Betty and added that "the first child male or female that said Betty shall bring I give unto my Grandchild Mary Baskervyle."<sup>39</sup> "Mr. Reeves" does not seem to have recognized the parent-child relationship among

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<sup>35</sup>Christ Church Register, 11.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 24-25.

<sup>37</sup>York DOW, (4) 114, 254-255.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., (4) 258-260.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., (5) 169-170.

his black servants. Entries of the births of James, Tom, and Benn, declared that the children "belong[ed] to Mr. Reeves" and did not mention the children's parents.<sup>40</sup> Finally, meeting spouses and establishing families must have been particularly difficult for the countless blacks who were the only servant their master owned (see Appendix 5).

The increase in manumission and in the free black population during this period was in some ways ironic, since status and condition were increasingly defined by skin color. Nonetheless, many blacks obtained their freedom at their master's death. Thomas Whitehead was an especially generous master. Not only did he free his "Negro man John," but he also gave him a house, land, and all of his (Whitehead's) clothes. Whitehead also left an inheritance to two white children, Mary and James Rogers, and named John the children's guardian. He was to receive their property should they not live to majority.<sup>41</sup> Andrew Moore received his freedom from George Light after petitioning the court that "he [had only] come into this Country but for five yeare." The court believed Moore's argument that he was an indentured servant, not a slave, and therefore ordered Light to pay him "According to the custom of the Country," which included a ration of corn, tobacco, clothes, and cash.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Christ Church Register, 11.

<sup>41</sup>York County Inventories, (3) 82-83.

<sup>42</sup>McIlwaine, Minutes, 354.

Other planters gave their black servants their freedom after a period of time. In 1674, Phillipp Chesley ordered that "my Negro Joseph shall from this day serve eleaven yeares and noe longer."<sup>43</sup> John Farrar was more generous. He declared in March 1684 that his man Jack was to receive his freedom after Christmas, while the English servants were to stay on the plantation for another year after his death "to help make a crop."<sup>44</sup>

Sometimes, blacks took the initiative by petitioning the court for their freedom. While the court could deny such petitions, as in the case of Angell who said her "master p[ro]mised that when he died shee should be free,"<sup>45</sup> the court also often sided with the slaves. In 1668, the court made a "Judgment for a Negro for her freedom."<sup>46</sup> In 1675, Phillip Corven petitioned for his freedom, which he proved had been given to him three years earlier by the will of Ann Beazley of James City County.<sup>47</sup> In February 1679/80, the Governor and Council freed a servant of Captain Francis Mathews' named Angell, presumably for some heroic deed.<sup>48</sup> Such actions slowly

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<sup>43</sup>York DOW, (5) 92-93.

<sup>44</sup>Benjamin B. Weisiger, III, ed., Colonial Wills of Henrico County, Virginia, 1654-1737 (Richmond, 1976), 12.

<sup>45</sup>McIlwaine, Minutes, 413.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 513.

<sup>47</sup>William P. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts (New York, 1968), 9-10.

<sup>48</sup>York County Inventories, (6) 287.

led to the growth of a free black population in Virginia. In York County, for example, the Charles Parish Register listed a number of free blacks during the 1670s and 1680s.<sup>49</sup>

Slave family development and the growth of a free black population indicated that a "plantation society" was beginning to take hold during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. This is not to say that Virginia's society was as it became in the eighteenth century, just that the beginnings of the later system can be seen here. Planters began to see that families helped to stabilize slave society and refrained from tearing children from parents and brothers from sisters. Slave families developed simultaneously with the growth of the black population as well as the legal origins of racial division in the colony. Paradoxically, increases in manumissions also occurred during this period, showing the early beginnings of the social and interpersonal tensions inherent in a system that deemed one group inferior and less human than another.

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The final years of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth century marked the intensification of racial division within society, the institutionalization of blacks' status as slaves, and the further development of the plantation society that defined Virginia socially and

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<sup>49</sup>Caroline Julia Richter, "A Community and its Neighbors: Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, 1630-1740" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1992), 570.

culturally for more than 150 years. The declining use of white workers,<sup>7</sup> increase in the average number of slaves owned by planters, increased slave resistance, and the changes in landscape and settlement patterns reflect the transition to the plantation regime.

The declining use of white workers among Virginia planters during the final decade of the seventeenth century distinctly distinguished this period from earlier ones. Between 1660 and 1689, 46% of the planters used both African and English servants, but from 1690 to 1699 only about 14% of planters used both groups (see Appendix 2). One planter used the mixed labor of Indians and blacks.<sup>50</sup> The reasons for the decline in the availability of white labor have been well established.<sup>51</sup> The significant fact is that by the 1690s, Virginia planters had completely turned to the use of African slave labor and a plantation system based on white racial superiority.

Not only did planters begin to use blacks more than whites for plantation labor, individual planters began to own

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<sup>50</sup>Inventory of Nathaniel Bradford of Accomack County, December 1690, Room by Room Inventories, CW

<sup>51</sup>See Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Colonial Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society (New York, 1979); Carr and Walsh, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650-1820," in Innes, Work and Labor in Early America; James Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in Tate and Ammerman; and Menard, "From Servants to Slaves."



on average more slaves than before. By the 1690s, slaveowners who left wills or had their estates inventoried owned on average 8 slaves, the number again ranging from 1 slave to 40 (see Appendix 2). Sex ratios remained relatively balanced at about 1.5 males for every female.<sup>52</sup> Increased numbers on each plantation and a balanced sex ratio encouraged the continuation of family growth, as did the planters who realized the hereditary benefits of perpetual slavery.

Evidence of slave resistance and paranoia about slave insurrection appears for the first time during the end of the seventeenth century. After having been freed by his master, Robin was accused of "ravish[ing] a white woman," and the Council ordered that "strong measure be taken for apprehending" him.<sup>53</sup> In October 1687 a "Negro plot" was discovered in the Northern Neck of Virginia. The Executive Board became concerned about the

greate freedome and liberty that has been by many Masters given to their Negro Slaves for Walking on broad on Saturdays and Sundays and permitting them to meete in greate numbers in makeing and holding Funerals for Dead Negroes [which] gives them the Opportunities under pretension of such publique meetings to Consult and advise for the Carrying on

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<sup>52</sup>This ratio is narrower than the one proposed by Kulikoff and others. York was the center of slave trading activity and therefore had a larger black population throughout this period. The 1.5:1 ratio the documents indicate may result from increased opportunities for York slaves to establish families, and may indicate the beginnings of a self-sustaining slave society by the 1690s.

<sup>53</sup>McIlwaine, Minutes, 520.

of their Evill & wicked purposes & Contrivances.<sup>54</sup>

Not surprisingly, the Board eliminated the slaves' right to hold such meetings. Kulikoff linked officials' complaints about blacks' clandestine meetings to fear of slave insurrection, which grew proportionately with the increase of the black population.<sup>55</sup> There was another "Rumor of an Evil and Desperate design Contrived by the Negroes" in March 1693/94. Dudley Diggs of York County apprehended Frank, a slave belonging to Henry Gibbs, who was "Suspected to be active" in the plot, and committed him to the jail for further examination.<sup>56</sup> Slaves either increasingly lashed out against their low place in the social hierarchy or planters perceived the possibility of such actions as threatening. Either way, slave resistance and white paranoia were both characteristic of the plantation society that was taking shape.

Changes in the landscape and in settlement patterns in the late-seventeenth century also signified the transition to plantation slavery. In the last third of the century, black servants and slaves began to move out of spaces they had earlier shared with whites (servants or owners) and into servant's quarters at a distance from the main house. Frasier Neiman identified this pattern at the Clifts Plantation in

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<sup>54</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1925), 86.

<sup>55</sup>Kulikoff, "Origins," 239.

<sup>56</sup>"1693 Affidavit Concerning a Negro Uprising," Diggs Family Papers, VHS

Westmoreland County. The Clifts was built in 1670 and from the beginning had a separate servant's quarter. Around 1690, however, archaeological evidence indicates that the cross passage of the main house was blocked up to create a new entrance. This remodeling was an "attempt to exclude the increasingly threatening mass of laborers from the house, to preclude common use of the hall" by masters and slaves.<sup>57</sup> Further, servile activities such as cooking and laundry were removed from the house to outbuildings. This again was "a reflection of the planter's need for increased physical separation from his social inferiors."<sup>58</sup> Such structural changes were not in response to a widening economic gap between classes, but to a widening social and racial gap. The challenges to the social order which the increase in the black population brought about shook colonists' ideas about the definition of social categories and the mutually felt obligations which had previously upheld those definitions.<sup>59</sup>

James Deetz identified a similar pattern at Flowerdew Hundred in Prince George County. At Flowerdew, the shift from shared to separate quarters and possessions for blacks was evidenced by a change in the types of ceramic wares the slaves

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<sup>57</sup>Frasier Neiman, "Domestic Architecture at the Clifts Plantation: The Social Context of Early Virginia Building," Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine, 28(1) (December 1978), 3123.

<sup>58</sup>Neiman, "Domestic Architecture," 3124.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 3127-3128.

used.<sup>60</sup> Before roughly the 1680s, blacks' status was more flexible and variable, and masters treated black and white servants similarly. While blacks were living in their master's house, "there would be little or no need to produce pottery in which to cook and from which to take one's meals. The pottery used would be furnished by the master, and would be of European origin. Furthermore, blacks in such a situation would be far more likely to learn European ways of preparing and serving food."<sup>61</sup> After being moved out of the master's house, however, slaves had to acquire or produce their own pottery. Deetz argues that this structural change in black-white relations explains the appearance of Colonoware--an unglazed, handmade earthenware tan to dark grey in color--on late seventeenth-century sites that slaves are known to have occupied.<sup>62</sup> This type of pottery has been found on similar sites throughout the South, the West Indies, and Africa, and the common link between these areas was a black population.<sup>63</sup>

These structural changes are alluded to in documentary evidence as well. A 1678 property survey indicated that a line "stopped at a poplar tree by the negroes' quarters."<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Deetz, Flowerdew Hundred, 91.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 92.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 85, 92-93.

<sup>64</sup>Bruce, Economic History, 106.

Especially by the 1690s, dividing slaves into separated quarters was a common phenomenon. Elizabeth Diggs' 1691 estate valuation listed 13 slaves living at "Indian Feild [sic] Quarter," 5 slaves living at "Newground Quarter," and 18 slaves living at the "Home Quarter."<sup>65</sup> In 1695, Katherine Thorpe housed 11 of her slaves at the "Dwelling House," and the other 5 at "Ould Quarter."<sup>66</sup>

Daniel Parke owned 110 slaves in three counties in 1709.<sup>67</sup> In 1677, he had inherited most of the land and slaves he still held thirty years later from his father, also named Daniel Parke.<sup>68</sup> When the younger Parke died, William Byrd purchased 50 of his slaves for his western plantations. Parke's inventory typifies the settlement pattern of slaves in the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth. Twenty-seven slaves resided at the "Home House," 14 lived at Mount Folly, 9 and 6 lived at the Mill and Hill Quarters respectively, and approximately 8 slaves resided at each of Parke's other six quarters.<sup>69</sup> The sex ratio at the various quarters was fairly balanced, with women slightly predominating on average, especially at the Home House.

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<sup>65</sup>York County Inventories, (9) 79, 161-165, 249-250.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., (10) 456.

<sup>67</sup>Will of Daniel Parke, 1709-1711, Daniel Parke Papers, VHS

<sup>68</sup>VCRP, SR 3720; Will of Daniel Parke, 1679, Daniel Parke Papers, VHS

<sup>69</sup>See Appendix 5 for the transcribed inventory.

Another trend present among Parke's slaves is the acquisition of skills. His inventory included two shoemakers, Billy and Tompson, and a cook named Moll. Among the slaves Parke bequeathed to his oldest daughter Frances Parke, was "Daniel a Carpenter and very good Sailor, Gushiro a good Shoemaker and Tanner, Marico a good plowman and carter, . . . Caesar a good sailor, [and] . . . Moll Spinner."<sup>70</sup> Such characteristics portrayed slavery in the eighteenth century as well as slavery in the late seventeenth.

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<sup>70</sup>Will of Daniel Parke, 1709-1711

## **CONCLUSION: THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AS AN ERA OF TRANSITION**

The seventeenth century was an era of transition in Virginia from a society with fluid and as yet undefined social and racial relations to one based on black slave labor and white superiority. The roots of Virginia's plantation society were first evident around the 1660s. The combination of an increase in black population in the 1650s, legislation which defined status by skin color, and expanded opportunities for blacks to develop family ties characterized the beginnings of slavery in Virginia. The ever-growing black population was an especially dangerous threat in whites' minds, even though blacks constituted a small proportion of the overall population during the seventeenth century.

The legislation of the 1660s, 1670s, and 1680s characteristically reacted to the racial challenges to white hegemony and the existing social order. In an attempt to allay the dual threats of "mongrelization" of the white race and equalization of status between blacks and whites, the white planter class restricted blacks' rights and privileges and even reordered their physical world to keep the races separate. Black slaves were removed from the main house and no longer allowed to share white accommodations and possessions. Away from their master, slaves provided for their own material needs and developed their own ways of

living. African-Americans began the difficult process of forming a unique culture earlier than historians such as Kulikoff have allowed. It was in the separate slave quarter during the 1680s and 1690s that the real birth of African-American culture took place.

But blacks' place in the social order had not always been so rigidly defined. While there were certainly examples of black servants being treated more harshly than white, there were also examples of blacks who possessed a fair degree of autonomy and freedom of action. Blacks owned land and servants, brought white laborers to the colony under the headright system, had intimate relations with whites, petitioned at court, contracted for their own work, and went about the business of everyday life the same as their white counterparts. It is probable that whites always saw blacks as different, as is demonstrated by the legislation of the 1630s and 1640s that singled Africans out for special treatment. Nevertheless, relations before 1660 were fluid, evolving, and open to interpretation. Blacks actively attempted to define their status by petitioning repeatedly for freedom or for the treatment accorded to English bondsmen. They were neither passive recipients of an inferior position nor always victims of circumstance. Black Virginians recognized the changes taking place around them and attempted to participate in the dialogue which was defining social and racial relations during the mid-seventeenth century.



## **APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX 1:**  
**Black Population in Seventeenth-Century Virginia<sup>1</sup>**

<u>Year:</u>	<u>Total Pop:</u>	<u>Black Pop:</u>
1623	1,277	22
1648	15,000	300
1671	40,000	2,000
1681	75,000	3,000
1708	80,000	12,000

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<sup>1</sup>Evarts and Harrington, American Population, 135-137.

**APPENDIX 2:**  
**Racial and Ethnic Composition of Virginia's Labor Force,**  
**By Inventory or Will, 1660-1700**

<u>Date:</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>Total # Workers:</u>	<u># Black:</u>	<u># White:</u>	<u>Other:</u>
Jan. 1659/60	7	1	6	
Jan. 1660/61	24	19	5	
Sept. 1662	10	4	6	
Dec. 1663	10	5	5	
Feb. 1667	13	3	10	
Apr. 1667	10	10	0	
Apr. 1667	2	2	0	
Feb. 1667/68	10	10	0	
June 1668	3	1	2	
June 1668	17	11	6	
Dec. 1668	5	2	3	
July 1669	6	6	0	
July 1670	1	1	0	
Jan. 1670/71	3	3	0	
June 1671	7	5	2	
Feb. 1671/72	9	3	2	4 Turks
Mar. 1673/74	6	2	4	
Mar. 1674	5	5	0	
Mar. 1675/76	4	4	0	
July 1676	1	1	0	
Jan. 1677/78	2	2	0	
May 1678	14	3	11	
Apr. 1679	6	6	6	
June 1679	2	1	1	
Oct. 1679	7	7	0	
Oct. 1680	6	6	0	
Dec. 1681	2	2	0	
July 1682	2	2	0	
Mar. 1682/83	6	3	3	
1683	2	1	1	
May 1683	2	2	0	
Jan. 1683/84	4	1	3	
Feb. 1685/86	26	24	2	
Mar. 1686/87	1	1	0	
Nov. 1687	14	14	0	
Dec. 1689	2	2	0	
Sept. 1689	11	11	0	
Mar. 1689/90	10	10	0	
Dec. 1690	9	4	0	5 Indians
Apr. 1691	7	7	0	
Oct. 1691	36	36	0	
June 1692	7	7	0	
Sept. 1693	8	8	0	
Sept. 1693	1	1	0	

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<sup>1</sup>Dates refer to documents listed in Appendix 5.

Oct. 1693	3	3	0
Jan. 1693/94	3	3	0
Feb. 1693/94	9	9	0
Mar. 1693/94	3	3	0
June 1694	2	1	1
June 1694	4	4	0
Aug. 1694	3	1	2
Sept. 1694	28	23	5
Oct. 1694	40	40	0
Nov. 1694	3	3	0
June 1695	16	16	0
Nov. 1695	2	2	0
Nov. 1695	4	4	0
Dec. 1695	1	1	0
Dec. 1695	2	2	0
May 1696	5	5	0
July 1696	2	2	0
July 1697	4	4	0
Nov. 1697	3	2	1
1698	5	5	0
Jan. 1697/98	3	3	0
May 1698	11	11	0
Aug. 1698	5	5	0
Jan. 1698/99	6	6	0

**APPENDIX 3:**  
**References to Indian Slavery in Seventeenth-Century Virginia**  
**Records**

June 1621--Mr. Webb motioned that the "two Indian Maydes might be disposed of to free the Company of the weeklie charge that now they are at for the keeping of them" (Virginia Company, 1:485)

June 1621--"it is now order that they shalbe furnished and sent to the Summer Ilands whether they were willinge to goe wth one servante apeec towards their prefermt inmarriage wth such as shall accept of them wth that means" (Virginia Company, 1:496)

1624/25--Captain William Tucker's muster included William Crawshaw "an Indian Baptised," Thomas Dunthorne owned Thomas an Indian boy (Chapman, ed., Elizabeth City Co)

Feb. 1645/46--Lt. Thomas Smalecombe had 1 Indian girl about 3 years old. He sold 2 Indians to Sr. William Berkeley, 2 to John Hammon and 1 to Captain Thomas Pettus (York Co, Inventories (2)59)

Dec. 1646--Robert Jackson, planter, paid Edward Adcocke, planter, 1 Indian maid servant by name Moll for debts he owed (York Co, Order(2)200)

Aug. 1647--Thomas Deacon owned 2 Indians girls (York Co, Inventories (2) 372-373)

Dec. 1647--Dr. Thomas Wallis, in lieu of 6000 pounds of tobacco due to George Ludloe, bargained and sold to him 1 Negro Sebastiane, 1 English boy named Nathaniell Chambers, and 1 Indian woman Nartian (York Co, Order(2)308)

Jan. 1647/48--Indian girl Formue was to be kept by Captain William Taylor and serve him until she turned 18 (York Co, Order(2)329)

June 1648--Henry Pamtry owned 1 Indian girl (York Co, Inventories (2)279-280)

Oct. 1650--William Finley owned 1 Indian boy 15 years old and 1 Indian girl 17 years old, each worth 1500 pounds (Northumberland, DOW4)

Mar. 1653--Thomas Woodhouse for a valuable consideration received of John Zaynes sold him an Indian boy (Davis, Surry Co Records, 11)

Apr. 1663--Symon Overzee owned 1 Indian boy and girl as slaves, the boy being lame (Sparacio, Deed and Will Abstracts of Northumberland Co, 25)

1666--Governor Berkeley advised the militia that the cost of campaigns against the "Northern Indians" might be defrayed by the women and children taken as "booty" (Craven, 74)

July 1666--William Calvert bequeathed to son Robert 2 Negro children and 1 Indian boy Ben (York Co, (4)114)

Apr. 1669--Indian brought in to be free after serving 5 years (Minutes, 513)

Oct. 1670--Indian servant after serving 6 years to be free (Minutes, 517)

June 1676--Bacon's Laws: "all Indians taken in warr be held and accted slaves dureing life" (Hening, 2:346)

Feb. 1677/78--Edward Phelps owned 3 white servants and 1 Indian boy named Samson (York Co, Inventories (6)111)

Apr. 1682--Richard Ward bequeathed Indian boy Jack and the use of Rosse the Indian's labors to his son (Weisiger, Colonial Wills of Henrico Co, 9)

Oct. 1684--John Woodson owned servant boy Ellis and Indian girl Judea (Weisiger, 10)

Apr. 1685--Roger Jones was accused of "harbouring" 3 Indians--woman, boy and girl--who had been purchased by Mr. Crawford and used as slaves (Calendar, 19)

Dec. 1690--Nathaniel Bradford of Accomack County owned 5 Indian men and 4 Negroes (Room by Room Inventories, CW)

Oct. 1691--Elizabeth Diggs owned 37 slaves including Kate Indian (York Co, Inventories (9)79, 161-165, 249-250)

Mar. 1691/92--Nathaniel Bacon freed 1 mulatto woman, bequeathed 1 Negro girl, and provided for 1 Indian servant William Davis until his time to serve was complete (York Co, DOW(9)117)

May 1700--Johne Ferne of Middlesex County owned 2 Indians servants and 1 Negro man George (Room by Room Inventories, CW)

See also, J. Leitch Wright. The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South (New York: Free Press, 1981), for more references to Indian slavery in Virginia.

**APPENDIX 4:**  
**Slave Arrivals to Virginia: The Seventeenth Century**

Aug. 1619--"20 and odd Negroes" brought to Point Comfort by Dutch Capt. Jope-- divided between Governor Yeardley, Abraham Piersey and William Tucker (John Rolfe)

1623--John Pedro a Neger aged 30 [came] in the Swan in 1623, included in the muster of Capt. Francis West (Eliz City Co wills)

July 1625--Privateers took "A negro and A frenchman who came away willingly" out of the West Indies as well as "a Portugall to be their Pilott." Their ship "beinge very leakt" set course for Virginia and arrived in July. (Minutes, 67)<sup>1</sup>

Sept. 1625--Captains of the frigate were ordered to pay the "Portugall" for his piloting. "wch is to be satisfied out of ye negros labour." "Yt is ordered yt the negro yt came in wth Capt Jones shall remaine wth ye La: Yardley till further order be taken for him and that he shalbe allowed by the Lady Yardley monthly for his labor forty pound waight of good marchantable tobacco for his labor and service so longe as he remayneth with her." (Minutes, 71-72)

May 1628--"Fortune has taken an Angola man with many Negroes, which the Capt. bartered in Virginia for tobacco" (CSP Colonial Series, v. 9, doc. 146; VCRP, Reel 224; VMHB, Jan. 1900, 258-268); these Negroes were captured from the Spanish (VCRP, SR 5861)

Nov. 1628--Margareta Morgan Adams of Newport, Isle of Wight, testified that her husand had paid the captain of the Straker to carry some Negro passengers to Mr. Ewen's plantation in Virginia (VCRP, SR 5861)

May 1629--1 Negro was delivered to William Ewen's plantation in Virginia (VCRP, SR 3810)

Aug 1633--English authorities were receiving information about Virginia engaging "in the Trade used by Strangers, of verie late tyme in that Country" (Privy Council, v. 1, doc. 321)

1634--Providence Company instructed its merchants that if

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<sup>1</sup>Craven makes a good point that this may be an isolated instance as far as the records go, but for another quarter century the English were active in the West Indies as privateers (Craven, 80).

there were too many slaves on Providence Island to sell them to New England or Virginia (Donnan, 1:74n)

July 1634--"on 16th of August last... [we] expressly require[d] you to take Bonde of all his Majesties Subiectes there that they shall lande their goodes here in Englande and not elsewhere; forasmuch as wee have bene informed that our directions in that behalfe have not been put in due execution, but that some strangers have lately traded there, and some English ships laden with tobacco, gone directly for Hollande, and there solde the same" (Privy Council, v. 1, doc 334)

1638-1639--George Menefie, merchant, planter and member of governor's council received a patent for 3000 acres which included 60 headrights, 23 were described as being "the Negroes I brought out of England with me." In 1639 he secured a second patent for 3000 acres and headrights for another 15 Negroes (Craven, 90; Nugent, 118-120)

1656--2 daughters of Edmund Scarborough on the Eastern Shore received a patent with 70 headrights, including 41 Negroes (Nugent, 328)

1660--Richard Lee received a patent for 4000 acres including headrights for 80 Negroes. They were apparently lost at sea. (VMHB, 1954, 3-49)

Mar. 1659/60--"The Dutch and all strangers of what Christian nation soever in amity with the people of England shall have free liberty to trade with us, for all allowable commodities... If the said Dutch or other forreiners shall import any negro slaves, they the said Dutch or others shall, for the tobacco really produced by the sale of the said negro, pay only the impost of 2 shillings per, the like being paid by our owne nation" (Hening, 1:540)

1661--Nicholas Ware of Rappahannock County gave bond to John Vassall, merchant of Barbados in payment of 4 good Negroes (Donnan, 4:6)

May 1661--Mr. Richard Parrett given certificate to transport 20 Englishmen and 3 Negroes (Duvall, 12)<sup>2</sup>

May 1661--Sir Gray Skipwith, Barronett, give certificate to transport 21 English men and women and 3 Negroes (Duvall, 12)

Nov. 1661--Orders were given to Mr. Thomas Outlaw, master of the Blessing, bound for Guinea: "If you can get Twentie Tunne of Olevants Teeth of upwards then to Returne to England....

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<sup>2</sup>Names always given of the English servants, but only in one case of the Negroes.



But if you cannot procure so many Teeth, then to get as many as you can Reserving as much of your Cargo, as will procure 100 and 50 Negroes at least, and not exceed 200 and 20, which you are to transport to Maryland and Virginia (Donnan, 4:51)

1662--Richard Lee obtained headrights for 80 Negroes, Scarborough had grants for 39, and Carter for 20 (Donnan, 4:6)

Mar. 1661/62--Anthony Ellyott given certificate to transport 11 Englishmen and 5 Negroes; Abraham Weeks given certificate to transport 8 English men and women and 1 Negro; Lt. Col. Robert Smyth given certificate to transport 36 English men and women and "Negroes" (Duvall, 14)

May 1662--William Leech given certificate to transport 19 English men and women, Anthony a Portugall, and Peter, Margaret and Maria, Negroes (Duvall, 15)

Sept. 1662--Abraham Weeks given certificate to transport 2 English men and women and 4 Negroes (Duvall, 16)

Nov. 1662--Thomas Willys given certificate to transport 5 English men and women and 5 Negroes (Duvall, 17)

Jan. 1662/63--Edward Dale given certificate to transport 2 English men and women and 13 Negroes (Duvall, 18)

Mar. 1662/63--Robert Kempe given certificate to transport 2 English men and women and 1 Negro man; Joseph Smith given certificate to transport 1 English man and 3 Negroes; Nicholas Cox given certificate to transport 8 English men and women and 2 Negroes (Duvall, 19)

Sept. 1663--Henry Nichols given certificate to transport 8 English men and women and 2 Negroes; Henry Ward given certificate to transport himself 5 tymes and also for 5 Negroes (Duvall, 20)

July 1664--Robert Griggs given certificate to transport 4 English men and 1 Negro (Duvall, 23)

Nov. 1665--Joseph Hastewood given certificate to transport 13 English men and 2 Negroes (Duvall, 27)

1671--Governor Berkeley reported that there were 2000 Negroes then in the colony, though there had not been above 2 or 3 ships with Negroes in 7 years (Hening, 2:511-517)<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>If Berkeley's claim that few Negroes had come in since 1664 is true, there must have been some importation between 1656 and 1664 to account for the number of blacks in the

Nov. 1671--Mr. Kurkman given a certificate for 32 English servants and 8 Negroes: Tom, Moll, Frank, Rose, Tom, Jack, Will, Nan (Minutes, 287)

Jan. 1673/74--650 slaves delivered in 2 ships (Swallow, Prosperous) to Virginia (CSP Colonial Series, v. 7, doc. 1215; VCRP, Reel 92; Menard, 366)

1674-1675--680 Negroes delivered to Virginia: 400 in the Merchants Delight from the Gold Coast, and 280 in Recovery from Old Callabar (VCRP, Reel 92)

1678--Royal African Company imported ? number of negroes to Virginia (Minutes, 494)

Sept. 1678--Concern expressed that more Africans were being brought than ought to have been *under contract* (in other words they were coming from other sources than Royal African Co) (Minutes, 519)

1678-1679--120 and 177 Africans brought to the colony (Donnan, 53-55; Menard, 366)

Feb. 1678/79--Ship Katherine arrived in Virginia September last and "conveyed on Shoare 46 of the Choicest and best Negroes" (Donnan, 4:53)

1679--2 vessels from Barbadoes with 404 Africans for Virginia (Donnan, 250; Menard, 366)

June 1679--Arrived in York River May last "the good Ship called the Arrabella whereof Joseph Pitck was formerly Comandr... wee recd... a Bill of Landing for 201 Negroes whereof he had... in all 177" (Donnan, 4:54)

1680--Report of Edmund Jennings, acting governor of the colony, to Board of Trade: "What negroes were brought to Virginia were imported generally from Barbados for it was very rare to have a Negro ship come to this Country directly from Africa" (Donnan, 4:89)

1685--190 Africans ordered for the colony (Donnan, 4:59-62)

Aug. 1687--120 Negroes, elephants' teeth, etc. were brought into the colony in the ship Society of Bristol, John Sheetch, master (Calendar, 34)

Nov 1694--Permission was granted to Sir Richard Levett and others for the Katherine to sail to Guinea and load Negroes

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colony when he wrote in 1771 (Donnan, 4:6 n22).

for Virginia (Privy Council, v. 1, doc. 467)

1697--French prisoners and Negroes were brought to Virginia in the ships of the West Indian squadron, were assigned separate work details--French sent on to England, Negroes kept in Virginia (VCRP, SR 8460)

**APPENDIX 5:**  
**Dated References to Negroes in Virginia: The Seventeenth**  
**Century**

**1620s**

1623--John Pedro a Neger aged 30 in the Swan 1623, in muster of Capt. Francis West (Eliz City Co wills)

1623--1277 total inhabitants including 22 Negroes (American Pop, 135-136)

Feb. 1623/24--"List of the Living in Virginia, Feb 16, 1623-24": Flourdieu H: 63 whites, 11 blacks (Anthony, William, John, Anthony); James City: 182 whites, 3 blacks; James Island: 39 whites, 1 black; At the Plantation over against James City: 77 whites, 1 black (John); Warwick's Squeak: 33 whites, 4 blacks (Peter, Anthony, Frances, Margrett); Elizabeth City: 319 whites, 2 blacks (Anthony, Isabella) = 22 Negroes (CSP, 1574-1660, v. 3, 57)

1624/25--23 Negroes were recorded by a census to be residing in Virginia: 4m, 3w at Pierseys Hundred, 3m, 6w at James Citty, 1m at Neck of Land near James Citty, 1m, 1w at Wariscoyack, 2m, 1w at Elizabeth Citty, 1m at Elizabeth Citty beyond--Total pop: 952m, 280w=1232 (VMHB, April 1900, 364-366)

1624/25--Muster of Capt. William Tucker included Negroes Anthony, Isabell and their child (Eliz. City Co wills)

1625--Negro brought to Virginia from the West Indies by privateers. (Council Minutes, 67, 68, 71-73)

**1630s**

Sept. 1630--Hugh Davis to be punished "before an assembly of Negroes and others" for "lying with a negro" (Hening, 1:146)

**1640s**

1640--3 servants were punished for running away to Maryland. 1 was Scot, 1 Dutch, and 1 Negro. The Scot and Dutchman were order to serve 1 extra year to their master and 3 for the colony. But "the third being a negro named John Punch shall serve his said master... for the time of his natural life." (VMHB, 1898, 236-237) According to Jordan, no white servant ever received a like sentence (Jordan, 75).

Jan. 1639/40--"Aln persons except negroes to be provided with

arms and ammunition or be fined at pleasure of the Governor and Council" (Hening, 1:226)

Oct. 1640--"Robert Sweet to do penance... for getting a negroe woman with child and the woman whipt" (Hening, 1:552); woman belonged to Lt. Sheppard (Minutes, 477)

Mar. 1641/42--John Graweere a negro servant belonging to William Evans was permitted to keep hogs and make the best benefit of them providing Evans received half profit. Graweere had a young child of a negro woman belonging to Lt. Sheppard which he desired should be Christian, and so purchased the child's freedom (Minutes, 477)

1643--Law provided that all adult men were titable and, in addition, that Negro women were as well. Evidence of Negroes being singled out for special treatment. (Hening, I: 144, 242, 292, 454).

Sept. 1644--Concern expressed over the riotous and rebellious conduct of Mrs. Wormley's negroes (Minutes, 502)

Oct. 1645--George Hopkins, Minister, gave a heifer due to one of Capt West's Negroes (York Co, Inventories(2)85)

Feb. 1645/46--Henry Brooke, Jr. sold to Niccholas Brooke, Sr. 3 Negroes, 2 women and one child. (York Co, Order(2)63)

July 1646--Wm Stafford at Cheeskciake owned Negro men Anthonio, Mickaell, women Couchanello, Pallassa, girls Mary, Elizabeth and 2 boys (York Co, Inventories(2)59)

Oct. 1646--Peace treaty of 1646, Necotowance promised to return all English and Negro prisoners (Hening, 1:323-326)

Nov. 1646--Elizabeth and George Hopkins claimed that a negro woman that Anthony Parkhurst had was theirs (York Co, Order(2)194)

Nov. 1646--Tobacco seized from the estate of John Powell to pay the wages of a negro woman belonging to the estate (York Co, Order (2)190, 196)

Jan. 1646/47--Capt. Wm Brocas sold to Capt. Thomas Harrison, master of the ship Honnor, 2 Negro men servants named Christopher and Grumby for a debt owed (York Co, Order(2)203-204)

Oct. 1647--Capt. Chisman received for debts from Thomas Deacon one of his Negroes and 280 lb tobacco (York Co, Order(2)281)

Oct. 1647--Wm Pryor paid Mounteyne Rowland twice as much as he

owed him (pd 1200 lb tobacco) for his curing one of his Negroes (York Co, Order(2)286)

Dec. 1647--Dr. Thomas Wallis in lieu of 6000 lbs of tobacco due to George Ludloe, Esq., bargained and sold to him one Negro named Sebastiane, one English boy named Nathaniell Chambers, and one Indian women named Martian (York Co, Order(2)308)

1647--"As for the Negroes they remain in particular mens hands. Capt [Samuel] Mathews the largest slaveowners." (Farrar papers, #1121)

1648--Total population of VA 15000 including 300 Negro servants (American Pop, 136)

Jan. 1647-48--James Stone, Merchant, had 5 English servants, and Negro men Emanuel and Mingo (York Co, Inventories(2)390-391)<sup>1</sup>

Jan. 1647/48--Robert Vause obtained from the estate of James Stone 1/2 crop, 4 boy servants and 2 Negroes for debts owed to him (York Co, Order(2)325-326)

Jan. 1647/48--Capt. John Chisman bought from the estate of Wm Pryor 6 old Negroes named Anthony, Francis, Peeter, Domingoe, Kate and Grace, and 2 Negro children both 2 years old, to have hold occupy posesse and injoy and everyone of the afforementioned Negroes forever." (York Co, Order(2)256- 57, 338)

### 1650s

1652--Nicholas Groome sold 2 Negroes to pay debts (VCRP, SR 4102)

Sept. 1652--Daphll Barlowe, merchant, gave to child his megro maid Marge and to his kinsman John Ellerey a boy servant named John Rolfe (Northumberland Book 4)

Sept. 1653--Robert Mascall bequeathed "one black her name is Crop" (Lancaster County Will, reel 1)

1654--Richard Johnson, negro carpenter, received 100 acres along Pungoteague River in Northhampton County upon headrights represented by 2 white men (Bruce, 126)

1655--Inventory of Argoll Yeardley of Northhampton County:

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<sup>1</sup>Valuations in inventories for Negroes are always far greater than that for English servants.

Under "servants" listed 2 Negro men and 2 Negro women their wives, 1 Negro girl, and 1 Negro child (worth 12000 pounds), under the heading "Corne" were listed 2 indentured servants (VMHB, 1962, 410-419)

1655--Andrew James was a free black in Charles Parish (Richter diss)

1655--Inventory of William Brocas: Owned 11 Slaves: Gumbye and Gratia "old", Samia "full of the pox", Deoge "very old... bedriden and full of diseases and blind", Mundina "a Negro Woman that hath been the mother of many Children", Katherine "diseased", Marya "old" and her 6 year old son "with one eye" (Lancaster Deeds, 1652-1657 202-03, 1654-1702 56)

June 1655--John Mottron owned 6 male English servants and Negroes John, Daniell, Elizabeth and her son, Joane (Sparacio, 1655-58, 97)

Feb. 1655/56--Rowland Burnham of Rappahannock gave "to son John a negro boy named Franky, being within very little of his own age and being the son of negro woman Gillian now wife to great Peter. I give unto my Daughter Elleanor one negro girl called Sare being the Daughter of the negro woman Joane and now about 2 1/2 years old." To 2 oldest sons gives 2 English youths for the rest of their time and 2 negro men called little Peter and Dicke, and 1 negro woman called Joane. To children Elleanor and Fran gives 3 English servants and 1 negro youth called Harry, and 1 negro girl called Barbary. "The English for the full terme of time they have to serve the negroes forever both to them and their heirs." Gives to wife Alice 5 English servants, 3 great Negroes, 1 negro child of Gillian (Lancaster County Wills, Reel 1)

Mar. 1655/56--A Mulatto held to be a slave was appealing (Minutes, 504)

1656--Benjamin Dale, negro, received a patent for 300 acres in Surry for transportation of 6 persons (Bruce, 126)

Feb. 1656/57--William Willson owned 3 Negroes, 2 man servants and 1 maid servant (Lancaster County Wills, Reel 18)

Mar. 1656/57--Will of Nicholas Martian: "After my next crop is finished, my 2 negroes Phill and Nicholas shall be free; each to be delivered the following: 1 cow, 3 barrells corn, cloaths, nayles to build them a house but they or either of them shall hire themselves after their said freedom or before or shall remove from the land hereunder appointed them or he soe doing to returne to my executors [for] the good of them and their children. And my will is that they have land sufficient for themselves to plant in the field where William

Leigh lived for their lives or the life of the longer liver of them." (York Co, DOW(1)232)

Dec. 1657--Ann Cluverius bequeathed to son John 1 Negro boy named Christopher (York Co, Order(3)12)

Jan. 1657/58--Anne Barnehouse of Martins Hundred owned Negroes Prosta and Mihill Gowen who had a child William (b. 8/25/1655), freed father and child. (York Co, DOW(3)16)

July 1658--Francys Cole, on the Rappahannock River, gave to his wife Alice 2 Negroes Henry and Peter their labour for 7 years from after decease. If wife dies or when 7 years is up, Henry goes to daughter Francys and Peter to daughter Mary to be "assigned... forever." Also gave to wife 3 English servants to her forever. (Lancaster County Wills, Reel 18)

Feb. 1658/59--Margaret Grymes gave to grandson 1 Negro woman "to him and his heirs forever," and to son Will 1 boy servant (Lancaster Co Wills, Reel 18)

Sept. 1659--Estate of orphans John and Margery Griggs included 1 Negro named Andrew (York Co, Order(3)64)

Nov. 1659--Bartram Obert gave to son a negro boy called John (Lancaster County Wills, Reel 18)

#### 1660s

Jan. 1659/60--Francis Wheeler had 6 English servants and 1 Negro woman (York Co, Inventories(3)77)

Feb. 1659/60--William Felgate bequeathed Negro Maree to Mary Bassett Felgate (York Co, DOW(3)930)

Apr. 1660--Negro man John, who belonged to Thomas Whitehead, manumitted and give a house and land as well all Whitehead's clothes. Named guardian and overseer of Mary Rogers till she came of age. John was to receive everything left to Mary if she and her brother James died before coming to age. (York Co, Inventories(3)82-83) Jan. 1660/61--Lt. Col. Thomas Ludlowe owned 5 English servants and Negro men Will, Robin, Lawrence (old Negro men), George, Tom and women Jugg, Moll, Bridgett, Anne, Bess, Pegg, Sue, Jane, Margery, Sarah, Nanne, Besse, William Iles an Anntient man Seasoned and Besse a Negro woman his wife (York Co, Inventories(3)108)

Feb. 1660/61--John Heyward bequeathed to Henry Heyward one young Negro called Cuttee (York Co, DOW(3)118)

Aug. 1661--Rebekah Noble accused of keeping company with a Negro man of Col. Mathew's and for planning to marry a Negro



of Col. Read's (York Co, Order(3)129)

Jan. 1661/62--Wm Hughes owned 10 English servants and 2 Negro women whom he bequeathed to 2 of the servants (York Co, Inventories (3)148, 154)

Sept. 1662--Negro girl Mary ordered to work for Capt. John Underhill to repay debts owed by the Basset estate to him (York Co, Order(3)173)

Sept. 1662--Major George Colclough owned 6 English servants, old Negro Joana, negro Bess and sucking child, negro man Tom (Northumberland Book 4)

Dec. 1662--Major George Colclough bought 14 yards of oznabrig to clothe the new Negroes (Sparacio, 1662-66, 54)

1663--York Co population: 3007, including 425 slaves (Kelly, Table 3)

July 1663--Thomas Mack, son of Richard and Tugg, born, belonged to Richard Perrott (Christ Church Register, 11)

July 1663--Mary, daughter of Deco and Philis, born, belonged to Doodis Minor (Christ Church Register, 11)

Oct. 1663--James, belonging to Mr. Reeves, born (Christ Church Register, 11)

Dec. 1663--Richard Wright bequeathed to wife Negro woman called Patience and her child called Grande. All the rest of my English servants and Negroes in Virginia and Maryland to be equally divided (included 1 Negro woman and her 2 children and 5 English servants) (Sparacio, 1662-66, 34, 38)

Mar. 1665--Thomas Kirby of New Poquoson gave to son Robert Negro boy George (York Co, DOW(4)189)

July 1666--Nann, daughter of Deco and Philis, born, belonged to Doodis Minor (Christ Church Register, 11)

July 1666--William Calvert of New Poquoson bequeathed to son Robert 2 Negro children called Cadde and Moll and 1 Indian boy Ben (York Co, DOW(4)114)

Feb. 1667--Edward Lockey owned 10 English servants and 3 Negroes named Silver, Julian and Bessie (York Co, Inventories(4)191-192) His widow married John Hansford who also had 10 English servants and another Negro named Penney (York Co, Inventories (4)194)

Apr. 1667--Joseph Croshaw of Popler Necke gave to wife 3

Negroes Moll, Bridgett and Rose, to son Joseph 2 Negroes Gie and Nan and 3 young Negro children, to son-in-law Major John West 2 Negroes John and Megg (York Co, DOW(4)147)

Apr. 1667--Thomas Crighton owned one Negro man called Anne and one Negro girl called Hagar (York Co, Inventories(4)143)

June 1667--Edward Lockey gave to wife Negroes Silver, Julian and Bessie (York Co, DOW(4)171)

1668--York Co population: 2456, including 355 slaves (Kelly, Table 3)

1668--John Harris, negro, bought 50 acres in New Kent County from Robert Jones (Bruce, 126)

Feb. 1667/68--Robert Harrison bequeathed the following: to son Nicholas young Negro servant Jacke, to son Robert Negro servant Franke, to son James Negro boy Purry, to daughter Amedea Negro men Peter and Jugg and Negro woman Mary and her child, to daughter Elizabeth Negro old Jacke and woman Nann, to daughter Frances Negro Beauty and children "that have or may come on her" (York Co, DOW(4)180)

Apr. 1668--Frank, son of Sampson and Kate, born, belonged to Richard Perrott (Christ Church Register, 11)

May 1668--William Barbar of Hampton Parish gave to grandchild Elizabeth Baskervyle 1 negro boy (York Co, DOW(4)254-255)

June 1668--Adam Miles owned 2 English servants and Maria a Negro (York Co, Inventories(4)212-213)

June 1668--Maj. Joseph Croshaw owned 6 English servants and 11 Negroes named Moll, Rose, Margaret, Bridgett, Gye, Man, Moll, Man, Besse, and 2 sucking infants (York Co, Inventories(4)190,288)

Sept. 1668--Judgment for a Negro for her freedom (Minutes, 513)

Dec. 1668--Captain William Nutt owned 2 old Negos, 1 lame with 1 hand and 3 English servants (Sparacio, 1662-66, 57)

Jan. 1669--James, son of Deco and Philis, born, belonged to Doodis Minor (Christ Church Register, 11)

July 1669--Mary Ludlowe bequeathed to son George 2 Negroes by name Ralph and mother Jugg, and Melatto Moll + increase. To daughter Elizabeth she gave Negro girl Manne (daughter to Old Lawrence + increase. To daughter Mary she gave Negro girl Bessie, also daughter of Lawrence. (York Co, Order(4)258-260)

## 1670s

Jan. 1670--Tom and Benn, belonging to Mr. Reeves, born (Christ Church Register, 11)

July 1670--Roger Long of New Poquoson had one mulatto by about a year old (York Co, Inventories(4)337)

Oct. 1670--Old Negro exempted from paying levies (Minutes, 517)

Jan. 1670/71--Capt Richard Croshaw had 3 Negroes (York Co, Inventories(4)318)

1671--Total population 40000 including 2000 black slaves (Hening, 2:515)

1671--1 free black recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

June 1671--Richard Stock owned 2 English servants and Peter Negro, Mary Negro with 2 children, and Old Dick Negro (York Co, Inventories(4)370)

Feb. 1671/72--Jonathan Newell owned 3 English servants, 4 Turks, 3 Negros (York Co, Inventories(6)139-146)

Mar , 1672--Betty and Pallas, daughters of Deco and Philis, born, belonged to Doodis Minor (Christ Church Register, 11)

1672--2 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Apr. 1672--Toney, son of Toney and Sarah, born, belonged to Richard Perrott (Christ Church Register, 11)

Oct. 1672--Hannah, daughter to William and Kate, born, belonged to Richard Perrott (Christ Church Register, 11)

1673--York Co population: 2168, including 335 slaves (Kelly, Table 3)

1673-1677--3 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Oct. 1673--"Whereas Andrew Moore A Servant Negro to Mr. George Light Doth in Court make Appeare by Severall Othes that he come into this Country but for five yeare, It is Thereof ordered that the said Moore bee free from his said master, and that the said Mr. Light pay him... According to the custom of the Country" (corn, clothes, tobacco, cash) (Minutes, 354)

Mar. 1673/74--Edmund Peters owned 4 English servants and 2 Negro women (York Co, Inventories(5)107-108)

Mar. 1674--Francis Mathews owned Negro men Franke and Time, Negro women Angella and Kate (very old), and girl Page (York Co, Inventories(5)106, 130-131)

Apr. 1674--Mary Barbar gave to daughter Mary Baskervyle 1 Negro woman Blacke Betty and the "first child male or female the said Betty shall bring I give unto my Grandchild Mary Baskervyle" (York Co, DOW(5)169-170)

Dec. 1674--Phillipp Chesley ordered that "my Negro Joseph shall from this day serve eleaven yeares and noe longer" (York Co, DOW(5)92-93)

1675--Phillip Corven, a negro, petitioned for his freedom, which he showed to have been given to him as of 1672 by the will of Ann Beazley of James City County (Calendar, 9-10)

June 1675--Angell a negro servant to Capt. Mathews petitioned the court that her "said master p[ro]mised that when he died shee should be free which being Examined, It is ordered that she Returne to her Service" (Minutes, 413)

Mar. 1675/76--Peter Starkey of New Poquoson bequeathed to daughter Mary Negroes Jet and Elizabeth, to son Peter all the land and Negroes Thomas and Dido (York Co, DOW(6)5)

July 1676--James Crewes of Turkey Island bequeathed Negro maid Keate (Weisiger, 6)

Sept. 1676--Daniel Wyld of Middlesex County bequeathed to daughter Margaret all servants and slaves and both his York County plantations (VCRP, SR 3561)

Aug. 1677--Daniel Parke bequeathed to his son Daniel all of his plantations and negroes in Virginia (VCRP, SR 3720; Mss2 P2204 alOversize, VHS)

Nov. 1677--"Strong measure to be taken for apprehending Robin a negro who had ravished a white woman. Master having declared before his death that negro should be free, freedom was declared." (Minutes, 520)

Jan. 1677/78--Capt. Wm Corker owned Negro women Besse and Sarah (York Co, Inventories(6)33-34)

1678--York Co population: 1874, including 339 slaves (Kelly, Table 3)

1678--Property survey indicated that a line "stopped at a

poplar tree by the negroes' quarter" (Bruce, 106)

1678--4 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

May 1678--James Vaulx owned 11 English servants and Negroes Black Dick, Cophie and a mulatto girl lame (York Co, Inventories(6)389-391)

1679--3 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Apr. 1679--John Scarsbrook gave to son John 6 Negroes: Lawrence, Bird, Joe, Moll, Joney and Madge (York Co, DOW(6)97)

June 1679--John Duke owned 1 English servant and 1 Negro man (York Co, Inventories(6)120)

Oct. 1679--Elizabeth Bushrod owned Negro women Angela, Doll, Nancy, Betty, Kate, Lydia and Negro men Peter and Dick (York Co, Inventories(6)3)

#### 1680s

1680-1683--2 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Feb. 1679/80--Capt. Francis Mathews owned a Negro woman called Angell who was set free by the Governor and Council (York Co, Inventories(6)287)

Oct. 1680--William Ball of Lancaster County--"it is my Will and Pleasure yt my Loving Wife Hannah be and Remain in full possession thereof together wth all house holde goods and Servants both Christians and Negrowos," bequeathed: to son William and his heirs 2 Negroes called Pam and Kate his wife, and to son Joseph and his heirs Negro Tony and Dinah his wife, to wife negro girl Bess and negro boy James (Mss1 T3602a2, VHS)

1681--Total population of VA 75000 including 3000 black slaves (American Pop, 137)

Dec. 1681--Robert Shield owned 2 Negro boys about 15 years old (York Co, Inventories(6)386)

July 1682--Wm Fellows owned Negro man William and a 3 year old Negro boy (York Co, Inventories(6)424, 517)

Mar. 1682/83--Robertt Cobbs owned 3 English servants and 3 Negroes (York Co, Inventories(6)486-487)

1683--York Co population: 2382, including 366 slaves (Kelly, Table 3)

1683--Henry Jackson owned one Negro woman and one English servant (York Co, Inventories(6)508)

May 1683--Robert Spring owned Negro man Tym and Negro woman Mariah (York Co, Inventories(6)322, 502-504)

Aug. 1683--Thomas Clinker, son of Thomas Clinker and free negro Ginney Bess, baptized (Christ Church Register, 24)

Dec. 1683--Phillip and Jane, children of Thomas and Elizabeth Phillips, baptized, all belonged to Capt Creek (Christ Church Register, 25)

1684-1688--5 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Jan. 1683/84--Morris Hurd owned 3 English servants and one Negro (York Co, Inventories(6)569)

Mar. 1684--Will of John Farrar: To my Negro man Jack, his freedom after Christmas Day next, all English servants to stay on plantation 1 year after my death and help make a crop (Weisiger, 12)

Feb. 1685/86--Elizabeth Read bequeathed Negroes: Peter and Brigitt his wife, 1 mulatto boy Harry, 1 Negro woman Black Betty with her child, a mulatto boy Dick, Negro man Tony, 1 French boy Nickolice Morrele, 1 woman servant Mary Jane Tissow, 1 Negro man Sandy, 1 Negro woman Bess, 1 Negro boy Peter, 1 Negro man Will and Janie his wife, 1 Negro man Jeffry with Nimino his wife and her child, Negro boys Tom and Will, Negro man Jack, Negro woman Kate, Negro woman Pegg with her child a mulatto girl named Dina, Negro girl Kate, Negro girls Marriah and Hannah--all with their increase (York Co, DOW (7)257, 259)

Aug. 1686--Robert Beverly of Middlesex County ordered that all his "slaves, servants..."be inventoried, appraised, and divided equally between wife and children (owned all or parts of 7 plantations n 4 counties) (Mss2 B4675 a1-3, VHS)

Oct. 1686--Katherine Isham bequeathed to grandson her negro man Dick (Weisiger, 16)

Jan. 1686/87--Henry Woodhouse of Lower Norfolk County bequeathed to son Henry his 2 Negroes Roger and Sarah as well as all his other Negroes and their increase, those to be divided when other children reach majority. (VCRP, SR 3742)

Jan -Apr 1686/87--9 Negro men and women buried, 1 Indian man buried (Christ Church Register, 31)

Mar. 1686/87--Jane Barbar owned 1 Negro woman (York Co, Inventories (7)308-309, 363)

Oct. 1687--Negro plot was discovered in Northern Neck--"this Board haveing considered that the greate freedome and liberty that has been by many Masters given to their Negro Slaves for Walking on broad on Saturdays and Sundays and permitting them to meete in greate numbers in makeing and holding Funerals for Dead Negroes gives them the Opportunities under pretension of such publique meetings to Consult and advise for the Carrying on of their Evill & wicked purposes & Contrivances"--such meetings were prohibited (Executive Journals, 86)

Nov. 1687--Maj. James Goowynes owned Negro men Horsee, Robin, Jack, Old William, Peter, Dick, George, Peter and women Sarah and child, Pall, and Mollotta woman and child (York Co, Inventories(8)59)

1688--York Co population: 2420, including 560 slaves (Kelly, Table 3)

Apr. 1688--John Smyth owned Negro woman Hagar and 3 Negro children (York Co, Inventories(8)124-127, 384)

1689--8 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Sept. 1689--Rowland Jones owned Peter and Pegg 2 old Negroes, Nim an old Negro and Dinah, Sam and Joane 2 Negroes, Betty a Negro, children Pegg and Jack, and a Molatto girl about 5 years old haveing to serve till 21 of age (York Co, Inventories(8)362-363, 495-496)

Dec. 1689--John Tiplady owned 2 Negroes (York Co, Inventories(8) 364, 401-403)

#### 1690s

Mar. 1689/90--Major Thomas Cary of Warwick County owned Negroes: Will Mottolo, Jack Bennett, Johnn, Penda, Nanne, Bess, Jeanny, Will, Doll, Natt (Room by Room Inventories, CW)

1690--9 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Mar. 1690--Dick, son of Nick and Jenney, born, belonged to Henry Thacker (Christ Church Register, 45)

Dec. 1690--Nathaniel Bradford of Accomack County owned 5 Indian servants and Negroes: Sorridelow, Sambow, Judes, Bess (Room by Room Inventories, CW)

1691-1692--10 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Feb. 1690/91--Billey, son of Sampson and Nell, born, belonged to Henry Thacker (Christ Church Register, 45)

Mar. 1690/91--Edmund Cobbs bequeathed Negroes Dick and Tom to his children (York Co, DOW(9)244)

Apr. 1691--Robert Bouth owned Negro men Tony, Robert, Jarba, Peeter, Matt and Negro women Abbigail and Betty (York Co, Inventories(9)134-135)

Oct. 1691--Elizabeth Diggs owned following Negroes: At Indian Feild Quarter: Old Bess, Jeffrey, Charles, Fish, Jack, Margrett and child Robin, Judy, Kate, Little Frank, Betty, George, and Alice. At Newground Quarter: Jack, Dick, Peeter, Yarry, and Bridgett. At Home Quarter: Capt. Hobbes, Oakly, Billy, Tom Ayres, Henry, Robin, Betty and child, Jane and child, Old Bess, Nedd, Mary, Kate Indian, Sew, Michael, Old Frank, Nanny (York Co, Inventories(9)79, 161-165, 249-250)

Mar. 1691/92--Nathaniel Bacon freed Molatto Kate at his decease, and bequeathed Negroes Moll to the Pettice at Little Towne, and Indian servant William Davis was to be maintained for the time he had to serve (York Co, DOW(9) 117)

June 1692--Edward Jones owned 3 Negro men, one Negro woman, and 3 Negro children (York Co, Inventories(9)165-167)

July 1692--William Byrd complained that an English woman belonging to him was killed and a Negro woman and mollatto boy were taken away by some strange Indians and were sold by the Indians to the inhabitants of Philadelphia (Executive Journals, 262)

Oct. 1692--In Maryland Robert Kemble was killed by his wife Abigall. She then married William Luffman and they with Jack, Sue and child (negroes) and an English boy Peter ran away by boat to Virginia (Executive Journals, 271)

1693--York Co population: 2512, including 788 slaves

1693--14 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Jan. 1692/93--Christopher Robinson of Middlesex County owned plantations in both Middlesex and Essex Counties, worked by



"Negroes and Servants and... Workmen" (Mss1 T2478b1-2, VHS)

July 1693--Mary Baskeryle of Bruton Parish gave to son George negro boy Frank (York Co, DOW(10)13)

Sept. 1693--Edmund Cobbs owned George, Annabah, Frank, Alice, Pegg, Judah, Guy, and Dick (York Co, Inventories(9)261-262)

Sept. 1693--Martin Gardner owned Negro man slave named Napho (York Co, Inventories(9)288-290)

Oct. 1693--John Keene owned 2 Negro men and one Negro girl of 10 years to serve til she is 24 (York Co, Inventories(9)283-285)

1694--16 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Jan. 1693/94--Henry Lee owned 3 Negroes (York Co, Inventories(9) 310-311, 321- 322)

Feb. 1693/94--Katherine Besouth of Bruton Parish bequeathed Negroes Ned, Moll, Jew, Abraham, Henry, Hannah and her boys Jack, Abraham and Will (York Co, DOW(9)320)

Mar. 1693/94--Dudley Diggs of York County sent the following notice to England: "Whereas there was a Rumor of an Evil and Desperate design Contrived by the Negroes, and Frank a Negro belonging to Henry Gibbs in this County being Suspected to be active therein was Imediately apprehended and Comitted to the County Goal for a further Examinacon in the matter where being Continued with a Guard for the better Secureing him and Several Evidences Sumond to appear and Declare their knowledge whose Tesstimonial herewith are sent." (Mss3 C3807a57, VHS)

Mar. 1693/94--Capt Charles Hansford owned 3 Negroes (York Co, Inventories(9)

1694--Peter, belonging to Francis Weeks, Jr., born (Christ Church Register, 49)

Apr. 1694--Ned, son of Nick and Jenney, born, belonged to Henry Thacker (Christ Church Register, 45)

June 1694--John Nickson owned 1 English servant and 1 Negro (York Co Inventories(10)14-16)

June 1694--Capt. John Stannop owned Matt, Moll, Tom, Samboe-- Negro children (York Co, Inventories(10)40-42, 160)

Aug. 1694--Ralph Graves owned 2 English servants and 1 Negro

woman (York Co, Inventories(10)42-44, 205-206)

Sept. 1694--Capt. William Ball of Lancaster County bequeathed: to son William a man servant named Luke Dickson, a negro man named Robin, and a negro woman named Dynor, to son Richard a man servant called Thomas Alderton and a negro woman Dadoe, to wife 3 negroes called Sambo, Tom, and Mary, and 3 English or white servants, to son James 2 slaves called Dominy and Kate, to son Joseph a girl slave Nany, to son George a boy slave Jack, to son David a girl slave Poll, to daughter Margaret 2 slave girls Hannah and Betty, to son Stretchley a girl slave Sarah, to son Samuell a girl slave Doll. "The rest of my white Servants and Slaves not hereby given[,] being Cox, Scotch, Tom, Betty and her molatto child, 3 Negro women called Doll, Betty and Bess go to my 3 eldest sons." (Mss1 T3602a6-7, VHS)

Oct. 1694--Nathaniel Bacon, Esq., owned Jack, Parratt, Gabriell, Andrew, Jack, Crook, Yaddo, Tom, Jack, Cuffey, Denbo, Robin, James, Peter, Hanna, Old Betty, Young Betty, Hester, Bridgett, Sam, Marth, Natt, Colly and Will Colly, Sarah, Alice, Bungey, Parratt, Roger, Lidea, Christopher, Jockey, Bridgett, Jane, Cunbo, Frank, Roger, Robin, Cross, Judy and Harry--26 male, 14 female (York Co, Inventories(10)274-277)

Nov. 1694--John Clifford owned 3 Negroes (York Co, Inventories(10)61-62)

Nov. 1694--Katherine a Mulatto woman was baptized (Christ Church Register, 43)

1695-1698--14 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

1695--Milly, belonging to Milicent Weeks, born (Christ Church Register, 49)

June 1695--Katherine Thorpe owned: At Dwelling Housing: Jack, Will, Cuffee, Denbo, Robin, Kate, Jack, Sark, Poll, Sam, Molotta boy. At Ould Quarter: Mary, Tom, Ned, Dannyell, Sarah. (York Co, Inventories(10)198-201)

Nov. 1695--John Archer owned Negroes Abraham and Henry (York Co, Inventories(10)456)

Nov. 1695--James Hubbert owned Negro woman named Hanna and Negro boys Billy, Abraham and Robin (York Co, Inventories(10)

Dec. 1695--James Harrison owned 1 Negro man (York Co, Inventories(10)235)

Dec. 1695--Edward Jones owned 1 Negro man and woman (York Co,

Inventories (10)244-245)

1696--Jimmy, belonging to Francis Weeks, Jr, born (Christ Church Register, 49)

May 1696--John Crosby owned 5 Negroes (York Co, Inventories(10)296)

July 1696--Peter, belonging to John Bristow, born (Christ Church Register, 49)

July 1696--Charles Minnes owned 1 old and young Negro man (York Co, Inventories (10)306-307)

1697--11 year old Negro boy born to servants of Major Tayloe on the Rappahannock River was taken to England by Capt. Charles Wager. By age 3 the boy started showing white spots and by 11 was all white except for face, arms and legs (VCRP, SR 934)

1697--Ben, belonging to Francis Weeks, Jr, born (Christ Church Register, 49)

1697--Pegg, Nell and Bess, belonging to John Bannister born (Abingdon Parish Register, 19)

July 1697--Capt. James Archer owned 3 Negro men and 1 Negro woman (York Co, Inventories(10)456-457)

Nov. 1697--Ambrose Cleare of New Kent County bequeathed 2 Negroes and 1 Scotch boy (VCRP, SR 4777)

1698--Rigault Bew, planter, of Gloucester County bequeathed 5 Negroes (VCRP, SR 4782)

Mar. 1697/98--Robert Crawley owned 1 Negro man, woman and child (York Co, Inventories(11)19-20, 107)

May 1698--William Digges owned Old Negro Dick, Old Negro Oakey, Young Negro Ned, 2 Negro women and sucking child, Negro woman Mary and child, girl Kate, boy Billey and girl Betty (York Co, Inventories(11)229-230)

Aug. 1698--John Woodding owned 1 Negro man and woman and 3 children, Gabriell, Sam, and Billy (York Co, Inventories(11)88, 110-111)

Jan. 1698/99--Mary Bennett owned Negroes Betty, Kate, Hanna, Ned, Frank and Woman (York Co, Inventories(11)323)

1699--13 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

1699--Tom Trotter was a free black in Charles Parish (Richter diss)

Dec. 1699--David Warner, negro, baptized (Abingdon Parish Register, 21)

Jan. 1699/1700--Mary, daughter of negroes Richard and Elizabeth Woodfulk, was baptized (Abingdon Parish Register, 21)

## 1700

Jan. 1699/1700--Nicholas Spencer of Nominy in Westmoreland County bequeathed all Negroes slaves (and rest of personal estate) to wife and sons (VCRP, SR 4790)

1700--16 free blacks recorded in Charles Parish Register (Richter diss)

Apr. 1700--Susanna a Mulotta belonging to Joseph Coleman baptized (Abingdon Parish Register, 22)

May 1700--John Moore owned Negroes Tom, Affrica, Abram, and a woman and 2 children (York Co, Inventories(11)410-415)

May 1700--John Ferne of Middlesex County owned 2 Indian servants and 1 Negro man George (Room by Room Inventories, CW)

June 1700--John Thompson of Surry County owned Negroes: Peter, Rogr, Mungoe, Sarah, Tommy Mingo (Room by Room Inventories, CW)

June 1700--Mussella and Lettice, negroes of Major Dudley's, were baptized (Christ Church Register, 47)

Sept. 1700--James Wimboth, mulatto, died (Charles Parish Register)

1701--Eve a negro belonging to John Bannister born (Abingdon Parish Register, 24)

June 1701--Sarah, Katherine, Philis, and Frances, belonging to the Widow Briscoe were baptized (Christ Church Register, 48)

July 1701--Betty, belonging to Capt. Smith, was baptized (Christ Church Register, 48)

Aug. 1701--Elizabeth Handy owned 2 Negro men, Negro woman and child (York Co, Inventories(11)501-504)

Aug. 1701--capt. John Goodwin owned Negroes Captain, Dick, Lucy, Rachel, Franck, Hanah, Peg, and Sam (York Co, Inventories(11)504-506)

1702--Dick, belonging to Francis Weeks, Jr, born (Christ Church Register, 49)

1702--Grace a Negro belonging to John Bannister born (Abingdon Parish Register, 25)

1702--Grace a Negro belonging to Mrs. Stubbs was born (Abingdon Parish Register, 25)

Apr. 1702--Dy, belonging to John Bristow, born (Christ Church Register, 49)

Mar. 1704--Dick a Negor belonging to William Kemp was born (Abingdon Parish Register, 29)

1705--Numer, belonging to Francis Weeks, Jr., born (Christ Church Register, 49)

Mar. 1705--Peter a Negro belonging to Mr. Guy Smith Clerk born (Abingdon Parish Register, 30)

June 1705--Ann a Negro belong to Mr. Guy Smith Clerk born (Abingdon Parish Register, 30)

1709-1711--Inventory of Daniel Parke, the younger<sup>2</sup>--owned 2130 acres in York County, 500 acres in New Kent County, 13 acres adjoining Williamsburg, and 1658 acres in James City which he bequeathed to Lucy Byrd

"Account of all the Negroes and other Slaves of Daniel Parke, Esq.,

deced in Virginia, at the time of his Death"

"I am very well acquainted with all these Slaves and know their Goodness and Value by having had Tryal of All that were fit to Labour and to the best of my Judgment their Utmost Value and with another several--being Young and not fit for Service and were only a charge for several Years and several old and not able to go through hard Labour I say--that to the best of my judgment the whole cannot be worth more than 1504 pounds Sterling which is valuing them at the Utmost" -- William Byrd (?)

At Home House: Billy Twino (age) 25, Billy Shoemaker 25, Quammonos 30, Squire 50, Peter 16, Old Peter 80, Moll 25, Jenny 20, Judy 60, Lucy 18, Boson 25, Yokin 50, Billy 25, Nan 50, Jenny 30, Moll 25, Amy 40, Kate 4, Sarah 7, Betty 7, Dinah

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<sup>2</sup>While this inventory is later than the project's focus, many of the slaves inventoried most likely belonged to the elder Daniel Parke who died in 1677 and bequeathed all of his plantations and slaves to his son Daniel Parke.

4, Isabella 8, Anthony 5, Tomazin 4, Moll 2, Jenny 2, Nanny 2

At the Mill Quarter: Harry 50, Franko 20, Betty 50, Sue 52, Beck 16, Pegg 4, Nanny 7, Jenny 18, Daniel 13

At Mount Folly: Old Roger 60, Philip 23, Martin 40, Jenny 16, Prince 14, Roger 12, Mary 55, Grace 25, Jenny 30, Daniel 4, Peter 1, Alice 6, Horculos 5, Caesar 2

At the Hill Quarter: Abboth 30, Harry 17, Judy 11, Peter 3, Betty 5, Jay 6

At Black Creek Quarter: Daniel 30, Bacchus 25, Kate 25, Juo 30, Abboth 18, Moll 18, Beck 10

At Mount Pleasant: Fortune 45, Abboth 50, Caesar 50, Evelyn 25, Darius 10, Dinah 12, Pegg 12, Jenny 6

At Park Lovell: Horculos 40, Sam 14, Stephen 16, Sylvia 45, Little Evelyn 20, Naya 40, Jenny 45, Mary 6, Queen 8, Toby 6, Trooper 2, Robin 4 months old, Philip 1, Corajo 2

At Park Mannor: Jenny 60, Cyrus 35, Alice 25, Beck 25, Queen 40, Winny 2, Betty 4 months old

At Parke Valo: Paul 45, Roso 17, Sampson 20, George 10, Tom 10, Nanny 15, Frank 9 months old, Darkus 7

At Park Meadow: Frank 45, Hannibal 40, Sarah 23, Sarah 40, Abigal 6, Jenny 3, Batt 6, Frank 3, Doll 2, Noll 1

At Mr. Thommins: Tompson the Shoemaker 40 (2 [shoemakers?])

Total 111 Slaves Young and Old Valued at L1504 Sterling

"A List of the Negroes and other Slaves which remained to the Debt after the Sale to William Byrd Esq. with their respective Ages and Values at

the time of the Death of Daniel Parke Esq."<sup>3</sup>

Negroes that are now dead: Quomino Lamo 30 (value--20), Old Peter 80 (5), Moll 25 (25), Jenny 20 (25), Judith blind 60 (--), Bowson 25 (30), Yokon 50 (15), Nan 50 (15), Old Roger 60 (15), Old Martin 40 (20), Darius 10 (10), Naphar 40 (25), Old Frank 45 (20), Old Hannibal 40 (20), Old Marry 55 of no value, Pappa Jonny 30 (20), Rose 11 (20), Trooper 2 (very sickly 2), Tobin 4 months (1), Jonny 3 (8), Old Tony 70 nothing

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<sup>3</sup>These are the "young and not fit for service" and "old and not able to go through hard labour" described above.

Negroes now living: Old Queen 40 (15), Old Paul 45 (20), Sarah 40 (20), Billy Shoemaker 25 (25), Moll 25 (30), Moll a black Cook 25 (20), Harry very sickly 17 (15), Frank 20 (20), Jenny 18 (20), Grace 25 (25), Wars Crook Johnny 16 (20), Old Cato 25 (20), Abbo trouble with fits 18 (20), Stephen Camo 16 (20), Cyrus 35 (25), Alice 25 (25), Sampson 20 (20), John Twino 18 (20), Peter 18 (20), Billy 13 (18), Daniel 13 (18), Prince 14 (20), Younger Roger 12 (15), Sam 14 (18), Billy Boy 13 (15)

Children: George 10 (12), Tom 10 (12), Bat 6 (8), Young Martin 6 (6), Toby 6 (10), Young Queen 8 (10), Betty 5 (3), Moll 6 (10), Frank 3 (5), Jenny 3 (3), Anthony trouble with fits 5 (5), Corajo one of his eyes bur out 2, Philip lame 1 (2), Peter almost burnt to death 1 (--), Betty diseased 4 months (-)

In all 61 valued at ----

---Thomas Parke married Frances Parke, oldest daughter of Daniel Parke, and received: 5600 acres, Negroes: Daniel a Carpenter and very good Sailor (40), Gushiro a good Shoemaker and Tanner (40), Marrico a good plowman and carter (40), Peter (25), Will (25), Jeffry (30), Caesar a good sailor (25), Papupoy a valuable young slave (30), Barbara (40), Moll Spinner (25), Bess (20), Hester (30), Ciss (30), Betty (30), Man Charico a valuable slave (35), Siko (30), Kate (20)--3 or 4 are illegible--Peggy abt 7 yrs old (7), Pyrhus (25), Young Chauco abt 12 yrs old (12), and Moccon Sarah (20), also received cattle, horses, hogs, money, and plate

---(Mss2 P2205a1, VHS)

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